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ARRESTS, DISSENT

Demonstrations in Lhasa

TIN News Update / 28 February, 1995

Tibetan nuns staged another brief demonstration in Lhasa on Saturday as tension increases in the lead up to the anniversary on 10th March of a failed Tibetan uprising in 1959.

It was the twelfth reported protest in the region so far this year, seven of them calling for Tibetan independence. Five of the twelve incidents are confirmed. There was only one reported incident in the same period last year.

During the protest on Saturday 25th February two or three women shouted pro-independence slogans in the Barkor, the pilgrimage route that circles Lhasa's main temple. The protest lasted only a few minutes and the nuns are assumed to have been arrested, according to unofficial sources.

Four of the six pro-independence protests in Lhasa this month have been led by women, bringing the total number of nationalist demonstrations led by nuns to 67, about half the total since 1987 when the current wave of protests began in Tibet.

Five women from Chubsang nunnery north of Lhasa staged a brief protest in the Barkor on 2nd February, although some sources dated the incident to 3rd February. The women were named by one source as Ngawang Tsering, Pema, Sangmo, Yangdon and Penpa, all from Meldrogonkar county, a rural area 40 km east of Lhasa. The women were arrested and driven away in a truck by paramilitary police. "They even shouted bravely many times from inside the motor," claimed one Tibetan, who said the slogans called on the Chinese to leave Tibet.

Last November Chinese officials are reported to have enforced regulations banning unregistered nuns from living in Chubsang nunnery as a part of an increased drive throughout Tibet to contain religious growth, leading to scores of women being expelled from Chubsang, according to unconfirmed reports last year.

On 3rd February five monks in lay clothes are reported to have shouted slogans in the Barkor before being arrested.

Five days later, on 8th February, five nuns were arrested after staging a protest near the Jokhang temple. They were named by one source as Khetsul and Yeshe Pema from Lhundrup county, and Ngawang Drolzer and Gyaltsen Wangmo from Lhokha. The name of a fifth detainee, said to be a nun from Nyethang, was not given. One source alleged that the detainees were badly beaten during the arrest, but did not give details.

Another demonstration is said to have taken place on 10th February, during which a number of unnamed monks and nuns from the countryside "were beaten and arrested", according to an unconfirmed report. One source alleged that up to eight monks had recently been

arrested from the tiny Kundeling monastery in Lhasa, but no other details were given.

In Nyemo county, 80 km west of Lhasa, four nuns from Donpar nunnery are said to have been arrested after staging a demonstration on or around 5th February. News was also received this week for the first time of a protest in the same area three months ago, during which four nuns from Tagchen nunnery were detained after putting up posters around the village and the nunnery. Dorje Youdron, aged 24, was arrested on 12th November and Pema Tsomo, aged 28, was detained four days later on 16th November. Two other nuns, Tsundru Wangmo, aged 36, and Phurbu Drolma, aged 19, were detained on 25th November.

Besides the six protests this month calling for independence, there have been at least five other incidents, mostly involving Tibetan hostility towards Chinese or Hui (Chinese Muslim) migrants. There are unconfirmed reports of conflict between Tibetans and rural Chinese migrants in Sog *xian*, a rural county in Nagchu prefecture, 350 km north of Lhasa, on or around January 30th. The incident mirrored similar events in July 1993 when Tibetans in Sog detained and later evicted a number of Chinese or Hui migrants whom they accused of poaching and theft.

There were incidents on 2nd and 3rd February when Tibetans damaged Hui restaurants in Lhasa after a dispute over a finger or fingernail found in the food, leading to an estimated 12 arrests. The Chinese authorities confirmed that "a handful of hooligans damaged several restaurants", but denied that there was any ethnic aspects to the unrest. "Splittist elements headed by the Dalai, in and outside Tibet, are arbitrarily labelling trivial matters, such as street arguments between individuals, as so-called issues between nationalities [in order] to start rumours and spread troubles", said Tibet TV on 11th February.

There was a brief demonstration in Lhasa on 5th or 6th February by a number of lay Tibetans calling for Hui migrants to leave Tibet, according to an unconfirmed report from Tibet. There were also unconfirmed reports of 6 monks being arrested in January from Tsurphu monastery, 50 km north-west of Lhasa, for unspecified "political reasons".

Two Jokhang Monks Beaten "On Suspicion"

Special restrictions have been in force in the Lhasa area since mid-January to contain potential unrest during early March, and the authorities are said to be reacting aggressively even to slight or imagined signs of dissent.

In an incident regarded by Tibetans as indicating the current mood of sensitivity, two monks from the Jokhang, Tibet's main temple, were detained for three days and severely beaten before being released without explanation.

The two monks, Pasang, aged 20 from Toelung and Ngodrup aged 22 from Meldrogonkar, were arrested "on suspicion" on 8th January. "They were beaten

severely, mainly by being punched, kicked and stamped on", said a source in Lhasa. Pasang "was beaten to such an extent that he could not stand up and had severe back pain", claimed the source, who was not from the temple. The beatings took place at Gutsa detention centre, and were unusual because detainees at Gutsa are not usually released for several months.

The two monks were threatened by police with further punishment if they told anyone that they had been beaten and have refused to discuss the incident or to give any information. Other Jokhang monks were dissuaded from taking up the issue by the appointed leader or foreman of the temple, Jampa Khedrup.

The extra nervousness among the authorities about this year's March anniversary is partly associated with a

plan by the Chinese to stage lavish celebrations in September this year to mark the 1965 declaration of Tibet as an "autonomous region". Tibet TV described 1995 as "the happiest year for the people of all nationalities in this region, as people of all walks of life are enthusiastically ushering in the 30th anniversary of the region's founding".

A meeting of public security officials in Lhasa on 13th February announced that the priority for 1995 was "sparing no effort to safeguard stability, completely smashing the Dalai clique's splittist and sabotaging activities and ensuring security during the 30th anniversary of the autonomous region", according to a Tibet TV broadcast on 13th February and monitored by the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts.

Reported Demonstrations in Tibet, Jan-Feb 1995

January: 6 monks arrested after "for political reasons" in Tsurphu - date unconfirmed

8-12th January: Flyposting or demonstration leads to police raids and arrests on Yamure monastery, Yangrigang, near Drigung

c. 30th Jan: incident in Sog county - unconfirmed

2nd or 3rd February: five nuns from Chubsang demonstrate in the Barkor and are arrested

3rd February: five monks dressed in lay clothes demonstrate in the Barkor and are arrested - unconfirmed

2nd February: anti-Hui (Chinese Muslim) unrest in Lhasa; Chinese restaurants damaged

3rd February: more anti-Hui unrest in Lhasa; up to 15 arrests

5th or 6th February: protest calls for Hui to be evicted; unconfirmed; arrests reported

c.5th February: in Donpar Monastery, Nyemo, four nuns demonstrated and were arrested - unconfirmed

8th February: four or five nuns demonstrate in the Barkor and are arrested

10th February: unknown number of monks and nuns arrested after protest - unconfirmed

25th February: 2-3 nuns in demonstration in the Barkor - unconfirmed

Tension Increasing as Chinese Plan September Anniversary

TIN News Update / 28 January, 1995 part

Tension is reported to be high in Tibet in the run up to Tibetan New Year on 2nd March, a period which has seen major unrest in previous years, usually on 5th or 10th March. 600 extra soldiers are widely reported to have been moved into the Tibetan capital this week, and at least 10 top level army officers are currently billeted in the Lhasa Holiday Inn, according to tourists in Tibet yesterday.

The 26th January radio broadcast accused "western hostile forces" of encouraging the "Dalai clique" in attempts to divide China, a significant increase in the level of aggression in Chinese propaganda, which usually refers to "foreign hostile forces" without mentioning westerners.

Chinese strategists see 1995 as a key year in their campaign against the pro-independence movement, and are mobilising vigorously around a major celebration planned for September this year to commemorate the 1965 announcement of Central Tibet as an "autonomous region" of the People's Republic. For their part Tibetan exiles are planning a "Peace March", due

to begin in New Delhi on 10th March, in which 500 Tibetans are setting out with the intention of walking to Lhasa.

The Chinese authorities claim that Tibetans are planning to sabotage the planned September celebrations. "Some separatist forces have even threatened that they will carry out a series of sabotage activities by taking advantage of the occasion of the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the autonomous region", said Radio Lhasa this week.

Dalai Lama Calls for Cancellation of March to Tibet

The "Peace March", a major initiative by exiled Tibetans planning to walk from Delhi to the Tibetan borders, has been cancelled on the advice of the Dalai Lama and replaced by a "*padayatra*" or walk from Dharamsala to Delhi.

The exiled Tibetan leader convened a meeting in Dharamsala, Northern India, on Friday evening 17th February with about 150 of those involved in the Peace March, due to set off from Delhi on 10th March. The Lama, arguing that the present time was inappropriate for their initiative, asked them to reconsider the plan to march into Tibet, and the organisers decided the next day to cancel the march to Tibet and instead to hold a month long walk from Dharamsala to the Indian capital, Delhi.

"I cannot with a clear conscience let you embark on the Peace March, before sharing my concerns with you. I particularly feel that the undertaking is politically untimely", the Lama said in a message to the marchers. "Great changes are taking place in China and in many other parts of the world. Our activities need to take these changes into consideration."

In a later message the Tibetan leader clarified his concerns, saying that he was worried that people inside Tibet would be needlessly hurt or even killed if they staged protests in sympathy with the Peace March.

The Dalai Lama's concern is based on good evidence. There have been frequent reports from Tibetans inside Tibet of the eagerness of Tibetans inside Tibet to undertake such protests, and unrest in parallel protests was highly likely if the march went ahead, even though it had been forbidden to enter Nepal, let alone China. The Chinese authorities had accused the exile Tibetans of planning acts of sabotage to coincide with the march.

But senior Tibetans involved in organising the Peace March claimed that the reason for the cancellation was pressure on the Dalai Lama and on the marchers from the Indian authorities.

Lobsang Nyendak, spokesman for the organisers of the March, told the VOA's Tibetan language radio service that the Indians had asked the organisers "to reconsider" because of the potential damage to relations between the two countries. Sources in Delhi report that the request was made in a face to face meeting between the Indian Foreign Minister and Tashi Wangdi, representative of the Dalai Lama in Delhi, in the presence of the organisers of the march.

Professor Samdhong Rimpoche, the speaker of the exile's Assembly and a major participant in the march, placed the blame for the cancellation not on Delhi but on Beijing. There were "obvious indications", he said, that the Indians had been placed under pressure from China, since they would otherwise have objected months earlier rather than at the last minute. The Foreign Minister is believed to have referred to difficulties which the march might cause to India's relations with China, an indication that pressure had come from Beijing, according to the Professor.

Tibet's Leading Prisoner Speaks Out

TIN News Update / 10 February, 1995 part

The leading dissident in Tibet, who has served 27 years in prison for supporting Tibetan independence, has openly criticised the Chinese authorities and denied that he has "recognised his guilt". It is the first known time that a leading Tibetan figure has publicly declared dissident views while still inside Tibet.

The statement was published in a UN report issued this week, which called on China to improve its laws on religious freedom and to release religious believers imprisoned for their political or religious views.

Yulo Dawa Tsering, a 65 year old former abbot and theologian and Tibet's most senior prisoner of conscience, was speaking only three weeks after being conditionally released from a 7 year stint in prison. Yulo completed a separate 20 year sentence for a similar offence in 1979.

Yulo, whose release is dependent on his continuing "good conduct", declared to UN officials two months ago that he had been arrested "for political reasons" and that he did not accept official statements that he had been released "for good conduct, submission to prison rules and recognition of his guilt".

The abbot made his statement on 26th November last year to M. Adelfattah Amor, a high ranking UN human rights official who was allowed to spend two days in Lhasa last November to inspect China's record in protecting religious tolerance. The UN published M. Amor's report in Geneva this week, giving details of the conversation with Yulo, the only dissident who spoke on the record to the UN delegation during their 10 day mission to China and Tibet. The Chinese authorities had given permission for the meeting to take place.

The abbot did not directly declare his political views, but told the delegation he had been re-arrested in 1987 for telling two Italian tourists about his support for Tibetan independence. He then "voiced his concern about the version of Tibet's history that is known to the international community," according to M. Amor, probably a reference to Beijing's repeated claims abroad that Tibet is part of China. UN officials insist that their report quotes the exact words used and emphasise that the monk made no direct remarks about independence.

The Chinese authorities, who deny that there are any political or religious prisoners in Tibet or China, had announced on Tibet TV on 7th November 1994 that the distinguished monk, a former philosophy lecturer at the

University of Tibet, was released because he "admitted his guilt and showed repentance". Yulo and three other prisoners released in November had "thanked the government for leniency for their release and pledged to support the Chinese Communist Party after their rehabilitation in society, and to become law-abiding citizens", according to the official statement.

The abbot criticised that the treatment of prisoners in Tibet, and told the UN that during his last 7 years in prison the inmates had been forbidden from religious practice, and had faced ill-treatment if found praying. Officials from the Ministry of Justice confirmed to the Rapporteur that religious practice was banned in prisons, although Public Security officials told him it was allowed.

The abbot expressed particular concern about China's ban on monks and nuns rejoining monasteries once they had completed prison sentences. He told the UN that since his release he had been "forbidden to rejoin any monastery, just like other clergy who had demonstrated and put up posters calling for Tibetan independence".

"Mr Yulo Dawa Tsering gave the example of his co-detainee Thubten Namdrol, who was chased away from the Jokhang on the second day [after his release]", added M. Amor, the UN Special Rapporteur on Religious Intolerance. Thubten Namdrol, a 67 year old monk from a monastery affiliated to the Jokhang Temple, was also released on 6th November 1994 after spending 7 years in prison for "trying to split the nation".

Yulo said that the ban on rejoining monasteries after leaving prison, a form of double jeopardy, was imposed by secular authorities, contrary to Chinese claims. "This ban is not being applied by the religious leaders", he told the UN visitors. Officials at China's Commission of Nationality and Religious Affairs confirmed to the UN that the ban existed, saying that it was to "avoid disturbing order in places of worship". "This ban does not apply to common criminals", commented M. Amor. In his report he "strongly recommends" that the Chinese authorities lift the ban.

The former abbot expressed special concern about Lobsang Tenzin, a political prisoner transferred to a jail 350 km east of Lhasa in April 1991 after handing a petition to the then US Ambassador to China, James R. Lilley, during an official visit to Lhasa's main prison. Lilley, who allowed Chinese officials to take the letter from his hands, apparently left the prison without obtaining guarantees of protection for the petitioners, and at least 20 Tibetans were severely beaten and punished as a result.

Yulo called for international support and indicated concern about the risks he faced in making his statement. "He formulated hopes with regard to the international community, particularly if his conversation with the Special Rapporteur were to create negative repercussions for him", said M. Amor. Similar statements were made to the foreign press and diplomats by the leading dissident in China, Wei Jingsheng, after he was conditionally released from prison in September 1993. He was re-arrested 7 months later and has not been seen since.

Troops Raid Monastery

TIN News Update / 28 January, 1995 (part)

Over 200 Chinese troops carried out military-style raids on a remote Tibetan hermitage north-east of Lhasa earlier this month, according to unofficial sources in Tibet. The troops arrested four monks suspected of writing pro-independence leaflets.

The raids come as authorities in Tibet step up their campaign against Tibetan dissidents, moving extra troops into Lhasa, carrying out arrests of pamphleteers and activists, and accusing the West of encouraging the pro-independence movement and threatening China's unity.

About 20 Tibetans are said by unofficial sources to have been detained so far this month for political offences, three times the number detained in the same period last year.

The military-style raids were a response to an apparently minor incident on December 15th 1994, when three leaflets were circulated in the villages of Yangri Gon, in Meldrogungkar county, 99 km north east of Lhasa. The leaflets called on the Chinese to return to China and said "Tibet belongs to Tibetans".

One of the leaflets was put up on the door of the monastery of Yamure, a reconstructed hermitage to the east of Yangri Monastery, 5 km east of Drigung. "There was some trouble in the streets, and some people were interrogated by the police", according to one source.

The incident led to a forceful response by the Chinese security forces. On Sunday, 8th January, 11 police cars and 3 truckloads of troops - probably People's Armed Police - were sent to Yamure monastery. The troops and police, who numbered over 100, arrested one monk, Choede (Tibetan: *chos-bde*), aged about 20, on the grounds that his handwriting matched the writing on the leaflets.

Three days later two other monks were detained after a second raid on the former hermitage, this time involving about 120 troops. Sonam Tsering and Norbu, both aged about 20, were seized 2 hours before dawn on Wednesday 11th January when 6 truckloads of troops arrived at the remote monastery, which is believed to house only a handful of monks. A third monk was detained, but no further details were available. The incidents were the fourth time the Chinese are known to have used troops to raid rural monasteries near Lhasa since 1993.

Reports that other arrests have taken place were given added weight by a Chinese radio broadcast on 26th January, monitored by the BBC yesterday, which described the "situation of the anti-separatist struggle" as "very serious".

The Radio Lhasa broadcast said that during the previous three weeks there had been "signs of trouble" in the Jokhang Square in Lhasa, in monasteries in Gongkar county in Lhokha, and in Meldrogungkar county - apparently a reference to the Yamure incidents. It is almost unprecedented for the Chinese to admit publicly

to such recent protest, suggesting that the authorities want to justify or motivate a crackdown.

"Some people posted signed reactionary slogans and openly distributed reactionary leaflets", said the Radio broadcast, describing the protestors as "swollen with arrogance". The tone of the report suggests that the Chinese authorities regard the distribution of pro-independence leaflets as a serious political threat, equivalent to demonstrations if not worse.

The last reported pro-independence demonstration in Lhasa was on 7th December, when four monks were arrested in the Barkor. One has now been named by unofficial sources as Lobsang Dargye, from Sang-ngag Khar monastery in Taktse county. It was the 159th confirmed report of a street protest in Tibet since unrest resumed in 1987, of which 130 called for independence, according to TIN records.

113 Tibetans Arrested in 1994

TIN News Update / 28 January, 1995 (part) - revised

At least 113 Tibetans were reported to have been arrested in 1994 for involvement in nationalist protest, according to preliminary TIN records. "Some lawless monks in Lhasa attempted to stir up troubles, but their

activities were stopped promptly by our public security cadres and policemen," said the Radio broadcast of protests last year. It put the blame on monks, although in fact at least 33 of those arrested were nuns and 22 were laypeople.

On 27th January a leading Chinese official in Beijing, speaking to western journalists on condition of anonymity, admitted for the first time that 200 prisoners in the Tibet Autonomous Region are held for "counter-revolutionary" offences, equivalent to political crimes, according to Reuters. The figure excludes an estimated 1-200 prisoners held in administrative detention but otherwise confirms reports by western monitoring organisations.

20% of the 1,000 prisoners in the Tibet Autonomous Region are "counter-revolutionaries", over 100 times the proportion in China proper, where 2,370 (0.18%) of 1.284 million prisoners are held on counter-revolutionary charges, according to figures the official provided.

The official announced that China would not be allowing the International Red Cross to have unfettered access to Chinese prisoners despite 18 months of negotiations initiated mainly to dissuade the US from imposing trade restrictions on China.

A Provisional List of Political Arrests in Tibet, 1994

Compiled by Tibet Information Network
February 1995 (revised)

This is a list of 113 Tibetans reported to have been detained for political offences in 1994. 22 of the cases described here are lay people, 33 are nuns, and 56 are monks. This list is provisional: there will have been many other arrests which were not reported to TIN. At least three of the reports listed here have not yet been confirmed.

In alphabetical order:

1 man, arrested on 24 May 1994 for staging a solo pro-independence protest in Lhasa, name not known

1 man, farmer from Pakshoe Joju Serwa, arrested late May 1994 for putting up pro-independence posters, name not known

1 man, monk at Phurchok Monastery, arrested 24 May 1994 for staging a pro-independence demonstration in Lhasa; name not known

2 men from Lhasa, arrested on 30 May 1994 in Drongba when Tibetan flags were found in their truck heading for Kailash, names not known

2 monks arrested on 17 Aug 1994 for demonstrating in the Lhasa Barkor (unconfirmed), names not known

2 monks, arrested for staging demonstration in Barkor holding Tibetan flag, 27 March 1994; names not known

2 women, described as nuns, arrested on 1 October 1994 for demonstrating in the Lhasa Barkor, names not known (source: DIIR; unconfirmed)

3 monks from Phenpo, arrested on 25 Aug 1994 for displaying a Tibetan flag in the Lhasa Barkor, names not known

3 women, nuns at Garu nunnery, all from Phenpo Lhundrup, aged approx. 18-19, taken to Gutsa prison for staging demonstration in Lhasa, 21 March 1994; names not known

4 monks from Phenpo, arrested on 3 Aug 1994 for demonstrating in the Barkor, names not known

4 people, described as "monks or nuns", arrested on 27 September 1994 for demonstrating in the Lhasa Barkor, names not known (source: DIIR; unconfirmed)

5 nuns arrested on 14 Aug 1994, for demonstrating and unfolding a Tibetan flag in the Lhasa Barkor, names not known

Apho, aged 36, monk from Bu monastery (?) in Chamdo, born in Drayab Jamdun, arrested 13 January

1994, thought to be in Chamdo prison, accused of writing posters

Champa Tsondrue, age 17, monk at Ganden Choekor monastery in Phenpo arrested on 19 June 1994 for demonstrating in Lhasa

Chime Dorje (or could be Jigme Dorje), age 27, monk at Serwa monastery, born Pakshoe Joju Serwa, arrested 29 March 1994, sentenced in Chamdo on 6 July 1994 to 15 years imprisonment for putting up posters in Pakshoe Ritri, presumed held at Powo Tramo prison

Choekyi Gyaltsen (also named as Choeying Gyaltsen), age 24-7, nun at Shar Bumpa nunnery in Phenpo, taken to Gutsa prison on 14 June 1994 for demonstrating in Lhasa

Choekyi Tsomo, nun at Bumthang nunnery in Chideshol Valley, from Lhokha Namgyegang, arrested 13 March 1994

Choekyi Wangmo, age 20-22, nun at Shar Bumpa nunnery in Phenpo, taken to Gutsa prison on 14 June 1994 for demonstrating in Lhasa

Chung Tsering, 30, monk from Ganden Monastery, born Meldrongungkar county, arrested on 13th May 1994 for helping Tibetans cross the border to Nepal and carrying information to exiles

Dawa, 20, from Phenpo Lhundrup, monk at Phurchok Monastery, arrested 24 May 1994 for staging a pro-independence demonstration in Lhasa

Dondrup Tsering (1) (also called Duntse), age 62 (brother of Tsewang Dradul), from Tsawa Bomi (Chinese: Dongba) in Zogang county, Chamdo, arrested 8 February 1994 in Tsawa Bomi for putting up posters, initially held in Srithang (or Sothang) prison

Dondrup Tsering (2), age 24, from Tsawa Bomi (Chinese: Dongba) in Zogang county, Chamdo, arrested 8 February 1994 in Chamdo for putting up posters, initially held in Srithang (or Sothang) prison

Dorje Youdon, age 24, a nun at Tagchen nunnery in Nyemo county, arrested on 12th November 1994 for putting up posters around the village and Nunnery

Drolma Yangzom, (wife of Tenzin Norbu, builder, age 37, now in India), arrested 27 May 1994 for 'politically motivated' demonstration against tax increases imposed on shopkeepers in Lhasa, reportedly since released

Dugkar Bum, age c.30, Tibetan language teacher at Huanghong Minzu Zhongxue (Huanghong Minority Middle school) in Tsholho (Hainan) County, Qinghai province, arrested in Chabcha (Gonghe, Hainan) on 26th

September 1994 on suspicion of spying for the government in exile (unconfirmed).

Gendun, aged 27, farmer from Tsangsar, arrested 13 January 1994 thought to be taken to county prison at Drayab

Gyaltsen Sherab, age 19-21 from Phenpo Lhundrup, nun at Shar Bumpa nunnery in Phenpo, taken to Gutsa prison on 14 June 1994 for demonstrating in Lhasa

Gyaltsen Tengeye, age 21, monk at Ganden Choekor monastery in Phenpo arrested on 19 June 1994 for demonstrating in Lhasa

Gyaltsen Zoepa, 20, monk at Ganden Choekor monastery in Phenpo, disappeared 21 June 1994, believed arrested in connection with 19 June 1994 demonstration

Jampa Choeror, age 16, monk in Chamdo, son of Tsewang Dradul, from Tsawa Bomi (Chinese: Dongba) in Zogang county, Chamdo, arrested 8 February 1994 for putting up posters, initially held in Srithang (or Sothang) prison

Jampa Tashi, age 26, monk at Serwa monastery, born Pakshoe Joju Gyabdoe, arrested 29 March 1994, sentenced on 6 July 1994 to 12 years imprisonment for putting up posters in Pakshoe Ritri, presumed held at Powo Tramo prison

Jamyang Tsering, age 52-7, from Tsawa Bomi (Chinese: Dongba) in Zogang county, Chamdo, arrested 8 February 1994 in Tsawa Bomi for putting up posters, initially held in Srithang (or Sothang) prison

Karma Geleg Phunkhang, age 46, watch repairer, arrested in May 1994 in Lhasa for political activities

Kelsang Yeshe, 30, from Namgyeling, living in Meldrongungkar, arrested 2 January 1994

Lhagpa Gyaltsen, 18, school teacher from Baglog, arrested 2 January 1994

Lobsang Choedron, nun at Bumthang nunnery in Chideshol Valley, from Lhokha Namgyegang, arrested 13 March 1994

Lobsang Choezin, age 17, monk at Ganden Choekor monastery in Phenpo arrested on 19 June 1994 for demonstrating in Lhasa

Lobsang Gendun, monk at Sang-Ngag Khar monastery in Taktse, arrested on 2nd or 7th December 1994 for demonstrating in the Lhasa Barkor

Lobsang Kalden, nun at Bumthang nunnery in Chideshol Valley, from Lhokha Namgyegang, arrested 13 March 1994

Lobsang Palden, age 17, farmer, son of former Party Secretary of Joju, from Pakshoe Joju Serwa, arrested late May 1994 for putting up pro-independence posters

Lobsang Palden, age 24, monk at Serwa monastery, born Pakshoe Joju Serwa, arrested 29 March 1994, sentenced in Chamdo on 6 July 1994 to 12 years imprisonment for putting up posters in Pakshoe Ritri, presumed held at Powo Tramo prison

Lobsang Tenzin, monk at Sang-Ngag Khar monastery in Taktse, arrested on 2nd of 7th December 1994 for putting up posters or demonstrating; held in Taktse prison

Lobsang Tsegye (also named as Lobsang Dargye, or as Lobsang Khyi-kyag), age 27, monk at Serwa monastery, born Serwa, arrested 29 March 1994, sentenced in Chamdo on 6 July 1994 to 15 years imprisonment for putting up posters in Pakshoe Ritri, presumed held at Powo Tramo prison

Lobsang Yangzom, nun at Bumthang nunnery in Chideshol Valley, from Lhokha Gongkar county, arrested 13 March 1994

Namgyal, also known as Wangmo Namgyal, age 31, a classically trained musician from Chabcha county, Amdo (Qinghai) arrested 28 June 1994 at Dram (Nepal border) on suspicion of being a spy for the exiles; held in Ngari prison, Shigatse, released December 1994 and expelled from the country

Namkha Dorje, age 23-4, from Tsawa Bomi (Chinese: Dongba) in Zogang county, Chamdo, arrested 8 February 1994 in Chamdo for putting up posters, initially held in Srithang (or Sothang) prison

Ngawang Choekyong, monk at Sang-Ngag Khar monastery in Taktse, arrested on 2nd of 7th December 1994 for putting up posters or demonstrating; held in Taktse prison

Ngawang Jinpa, monk at Sang-Ngag Khar monastery in Taktse, arrested on 2nd or 7th December 1994 for demonstrating in the Lhasa Barkor

Ngawang Kunsel (layname: Dekyi Nyima), age 20, born Lhokha, Tsona county, Gongkar *xiang*, neighbourhood no 1, nun at Garu nunnery, arrested 25 May 1994 for protesting in the Barkor

Ngawang Lamdro (layname: Pasang Lhamo), age 19, born Phenpo Lhundrup county, Jeka *xiang*, neighbourhood no 2, nun at Garu nunnery, arrested 25 May 1994 for protesting in the Barkor

Ngawang Legyon, monk at Sang-Ngag Khar monastery in Taktse, arrested on 2nd or 7th December 1994 for

putting up posters or demonstrating; held in Taktse prison

Ngawang Losel, monk at Sang-Ngag Khar monastery in Taktse, arrested on 2nd or 7th December 1994 for putting up posters or demonstrating; held in Taktse prison

Ngawang Ngon-kyen [*mngon mkhyen*] (layname: Nyima Tsering) age 19, from Nyethang *xiang*, neighbourhood No.1, monk at Nyethang Tashigang monastery, arrested 27 or 31 May 1994 for demonstrating on the Lhasa Barkor

Ngawang Oedbar, monk at Sang-Ngag Khar monastery in Taktse, arrested on 2nd or 7th December 1994 for demonstrating in the Lhasa Barkor

Ngawang Pema, nun at Bumthang nunnery in Chideshol Valley, from Lhokha Namgyegang, arrested 13 March 1994

Ngawang Sangden, nun at Bumthang nunnery in Chideshol Valley, from Lhokha Namgyegang, arrested 13 March 1994

Ngawang Thoglam, monk at Sang-Ngag Khar monastery in Taktse, arrested on 2nd or 7th December 1994 for putting up posters or demonstrating; held in Taktse prison

Ngawang Tsangpa (layname: Kelsang Phuntsog) age 21, from Lhokha Gongkar county, Namgyegang, monk at Nyethang Tashigang monastery arrested 27 or 31 May 1994 for demonstrating on the Lhasa Barkor

Nyima, 18 from Phenpo Lhundrup, monk at Phurchok Monastery, arrested 24 May 1994 for staging a pro-independence demonstration in Lhasa

Pema Tsering, age 23, monk at Serwa monastery, born Pakshoe Joju Gyabdoe, arrested 29 March 1994, sentenced in Chamdo on 6 July 1994 to 15 years imprisonment for putting up posters in Pakshoe Ritri, presumed held at Powo Tramo prison

Pema Tsomo, age 28, a nun at Tagchen nunnery in Nyemo county, arrested on 16th November 1994 for putting up posters around the village and Nunnery

Penpa, 20, farmer from Baglog, arrested 20 February 1994

Phuntsog Choedrag, (senior), monk at Sang-Ngag Khar monastery in Taktse, arrested on 2nd or 7th December 1994 for demonstrating in the Lhasa Barkor

Phuntsog Choedrag, monk at Sang-Ngag Khar monastery in Taktse, arrested on 2nd or 7th December 1994 for demonstrating in the Lhasa Barkor

Phuntsog Choejor, monk at Sang-Ngag Khar monastery in Taktse, arrested on 2nd or 7th December 1994 for demonstrating in the Lhasa Barkor

Phuntsog Jigdral, monk at Sang-Ngag Khar monastery in Taktse, arrested on 2nd or 7th December 1994 for putting up posters or demonstrating; held in Taktse prison

Phuntsog Lhundrup, monk at Sang-Ngag Khar monastery in Taktse, arrested on 2nd or 7th December 1994 for demonstrating in the Lhasa Barkor

Phuntsog Peyang (layname: Pema Drolma), age 27, born Toelung Dechen county, Gurum *xiang*, Chaggyu neighbourhood no 2, nun at Garu nunnery, arrested 25 May 1994 for protesting in the Barkor

Phuntsog Rigchog (Migmar) age 28, from Nyethang *xiang*, Chushur county, monk at Nyethang Tashigang Monastery, arrested 31 May 1994 for demonstrating in Lhasa

Phuntsog Samten, monk at Sang-Ngag Khar monastery in Taktse, arrested on 2nd or 7th December 1994 for demonstrating in the Lhasa Barkor

Phuntsog Seldrag [*bsal grags*] (Pema Thinly) age 17, from Nyethang *xiang*, Chushur county, monk at Nyethang Tashigang Monastery, arrested 31 May 1994 for demonstrating in Lhasa

Phuntsog Tendon [*bsstan 'don*] (layname: Migmar), age 14, from Nyethang *xiang*, Chushur county, monk at Nyethang Tashigang Monastery, arrested 31 May 1994 for demonstrating in Lhasa

Phuntsog Thrinden [*phrin Itan*] (Sonam Tsering) age 19, from Nyethang *xiang*, Chushur county, monk at Nyethang Tashigang Monastery, arrested 31 May 1994 for demonstrating in Lhasa

Phuntsog Tsomo (layname: Yangka), born Phenpo, Ganden Choekor, neighbourhood no 6, nun at Garu nunnery, arrested 25 May 1994 for protesting in the Barkor

Phuntsog Wangmo (layname: Lobsang Drolma), age 21-3, born Meldrogungkar county, Modrong *xiang*, neighbourhood no 6, nun at Garu nunnery, arrested 25 May 1994 for protesting in the Barkor

Phuntsog Zoepa (Lobsang Drolma [?]) age 19 from Nyethang *xiang*, neighbourhood No.1, monk at Nyethang Tashigang Monastery, arrested 31 May 1994 for demonstrating in Lhasa

Phurbu Drolma, age 19, a nun at Tagchen nunnery in Nyemo county, arrested on 25th November 1994 for putting up posters around the village and Nunnery.

Rinchen Tsering, Teacher in the Hainan Minority Nationality Teacher Training College, Tsholho (Hainan) City, Hainan County, disappeared, believed detained on 26th September 1994, reportedly for having been to India without Chinese authorisation (unconfirmed)

Samdrup, age c. 23, unemployed, male, from Sog Rongpo in Nagchu prefecture, detained in August in Nagchu on suspicion of having connections with exiles, released after 40 days

Seldroen, age 17-8, nun at Shar Bumpa nunnery in Phenpo, taken to Gutsa prison on 14 June 1994 for demonstrating in Lhasa

Shabdrung Rimpoché, lama, director of private school in Lhasa, arrested late February 1994, believed to be accused of accepting finance from exiles

Sonam, age 20-25, monk at Drak Yerpa in Taktse county, detained in August 1994 for writing pro-independence slogan, held in Taktse county jail and then Gutsa, sentenced to 5 years in Drapchi

Tenzin Kunsang, nun at Bumthang nunnery in Chideshol Valley, from Lhokha Namgyegang, arrested 13 March 1994

Tenzin, aged 24, monk from Bu monastery (?) in Chamdo, born in Drayab Jamdun, arrested 13 January 1994 for writing posters, reportedly released

Tharpa, 17 from Meldrogungkar, monk at Phurchok Monastery, arrested 24 May 1994 for staging a pro-independence demonstration in Lhasa

Thubten Geleg (Dorje) age 16, from Lhokha Gongkar To-rwa, monk at Nyethang Tashigang Monastery, arrested 31 May 1994 for demonstrating in Lhasa

Tobgyal, aged 21 (brother of above), born in Tsangsar, arrested 13 January 1994 for writing posters, reportedly released

Tsering Samdrup, age 21, monk at Ganden Choekor monastery in Phenpo arrested on 19 June 1994 for demonstrating in Lhasa

Tsetob, aged 28, monk from Bu monastery (?) in Chamdo, born in Drayab Jamdun, arrested 13 January 1994, accused of writing posters

Tsetse, aged 47, monk, born Drayab Jamdun, secretary of Bu monastery in Chamdo, arrested 13 January 1994 for having books by the Dalai Lama and the UN Declaration of Human Rights, believed held in Chamdo prison

Tsewang Dradul, age 61-4, from Tsawa Bomi (Chinese: Dongba) in Zogang county, Chamdo, arrested 8 February 1994 for putting up posters, initially held in Srithang (or Sothang) prison

Tsondru Wangmo, age 36, a nun at Tagchen nunnery in Nyemo county, arrested on 25th November 1994 for putting up posters around the village and Nunnery

Tsultrim Zangmo, age 23, nun at Shar Bumpa nunnery in Phenpo, taken to Gutsa prison on 14 June 1994 for demonstrating in Lhasa

Tsultrim, age 20, farmer, born Pakshoe Joju Serwa, arrested late May 1994 for putting up pro-independence posters

Walgon (Palgon) [*dpal-mgon*] Tsering, monk, from nomad family near Qinghai lake, detained September 1994 in Lhasa, on suspicion of carrying a large amount of money allegedly intended for the exile government; first held in Lhasa, but transferred to Hainan County prison

UN Calls for Release of Tibetan Prisoners

TIN News Update / 13 December, 1994 revised

The United Nations has ruled that the Chinese Government violated the human rights of 61 political prisoners, 39 of them Tibetans, and has called for them to be released. The UN, which had been asked by human rights groups to consider the 61 sample cases, decided that the prisoners had been "arbitrarily detained".

The finding has just been published by the UN's Working Group on Arbitrary Detentions, an expert body which finished its quarterly session last Friday in Geneva, exactly one year after the decision was communicated to China. Publication of the decision now emphasises the Working Group's dissatisfaction with China, which has failed either to release the prisoners or to change its detention practices.

The detentions were "in contravention of Articles 19 and 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights", according to the statement issued by the Working Group. "The right of the persons concerned to freedom of opinion and expression has not been respected", it decided.

The Chinese Government was requested by the Working Group to "take the necessary steps to remedy the situation to bring it into conformity with the provisions and principles incorporated in the Universal Declaration" - a phrase which means that the prisoners should be released immediately. It also means that they are entitled to compensation from the Chinese authorities.

The 39 Tibetan cases submitted to the UN include ten monks from Drepung monastery near Lhasa who received sentences averaging 15 years each in 1989 for publishing leaflets about democracy and human rights, including a Tibetan translation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Others include a doctor, a restaurant owner, an accountant, two teachers, a technician, a painter, ten other monks and six nuns. The cases of an estimated 300 other political prisoners in Tibet have not yet been considered by the UN.

The Working Group delayed publishing its decisions for a year in the hope of getting the Chinese to co-operate further with its work. It told TIN that earlier this year it had announced it had postponed publication of its decision concerning allegations against China while it awaited a response to a request the Group had made to be allowed to visit China.

"The Group is of the opinion that, consistent with the spirit of co-operation in its functioning, it would be of immense value if the [Chinese] Government agreed to its request for a visit," the Group said in its 1994 report. The request for a visit was designed to allow the Group "to understand better the concerns and viewpoint of China" and "to make concrete recommendations concerning the promotion of human rights".

The Group had said in the report, issued in February 1994, that if the request for a visit was not accepted within a year "the Group would forthwith communicate [to the public] its decisions to the Government". The request for a visit was turned down.

"It will be up to the Commission to follow up the Group's finding," said a UN official, referring to the Commission on Human Rights, which will consider what action to take when it meets in February 1995. "We will try to continue negotiations on the possibility of getting an invitation to China," the official said today, speaking from the UN offices in Geneva. He added that the Group is still receiving regular reports of new arrests by the Chinese authorities.

The UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detentions is a new body formed by the UN Commission on Human Rights three years ago. The Working Group is unique in that, alone amongst the UN's procedures for investigating specific types of human rights violation, it has quasi-judicial powers. This means that it can examine an allegation received from an individual and decide if the Government involved has committed an abuse or not. The other UN procedures merely report the allegations.

The Working Group gives governments 90 days to reply to an allegation. It then accepts further submissions from the concerned individuals and non-governmental

organisations before weighing both sides of the case and judging accordingly.

Its findings could embarrass Beijing, which claims to respect basic human rights and has so far always evaded criticism by any of the UN's principal decision-making bodies. "China respects and abides by the basic principles of the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," China told the UN last year. Last Saturday 10th December was the 46th anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration.

The special status of the Working Group is a reflection of the procedural skill of its Chairman and Rapporteur, the leading French jurist, Louis Joinet. The five members of the group are all independent experts on human rights, not government representatives, and currently include jurists from Senegal, India, and Chile.

In its 1994 report the Working Group published 26 "decisions" on reports which it had considered in 1993 and 1994 concerning alleged arbitrary detentions throughout the world. Seven of the 26 decisions published in the report concerned alleged violations by China. The only other country which was dealt with more than once was Syria, which was considered twice.

China is now involved with India and Iran in a behind-the-scenes manoeuvre which will emasculate the Working Group and other human rights bodies within the UN. The three countries, who have all been widely accused of serious human rights abuses, have proposed to "rationalise" UN procedures by having all human rights allegations vetted by government officials before the Working Group or other UN experts are allowed to assess them.

Chinese Blame Tibetan "Insurrection"

One of the 39 detainees is a doctor, Jampa Ngodrup, who is serving 13 years for writing down the names of Tibetans shot by police during a demonstration in 1988. Another is a 72 year old Drepung monk named Lobsang Tsondru, who is serving 6 years for "failure to reform", while Tsering Ngodrup, a 57 year old restaurant owner, is serving 12 years for "encouraging reactionary singing" during a 1988 protest. Amongst the four women considered in the decision is a school teacher, Dawa Drolma, who was serving five years for writing a "counter-revolutionary song" on the classroom blackboard.

The Chinese Government had earlier refuted the allegations, telling the Working Group that when the detentions had taken place "the situation was bordering on insurrection" - an admission never made elsewhere by Beijing.

The remark referred to three days of unrest in March 1989 during which police shot dead an estimated 100 or more demonstrators in Lhasa. But only nine of the 39 detainees named in the test case were arrested in connection with those incidents. 27 were accused of "counter-revolutionary activities" such as collecting information or possession of pamphlets, but were not involved in any demonstrations.

Nine of the 39 prisoners, including Ama Phurba, have since completed their sentences, and one other has been released on medical grounds while he recovers from his injuries, allegedly a result of torture. 21 remain in prison despite the call by the UN.

One of the 39 prisoners, Yulu Dawa Tsering, a university teacher and the subject of an international campaign, was conditionally released last month after seven years in prison. He had been sentenced to ten years for speaking about independence to an Italian tourist in July 1987.

The 22 Chinese prisoners whose cases were considered by the Group include ten imprisoned for "illegal" religious activities and nine pro-democracy activists.

The Chinese Government is taking steps to avert further criticism by inviting certain UN human rights officials to China, and allowed the Special Rapporteur on Religious Intolerance to visit last month. The High Commissioner for Human Rights, José Ayala Lasso, announced on 16th November that he would visit China in early 1995. He is likely to be under pressure from human rights groups to insist on other UN human rights experts being allowed to accompany him.

In its 1993 report the Working Group denounced China's system of "reform-through-education" - imprisonment for up to 4.5 years without trial - as a form of arbitrary detention, but the governments in the UN Commission on Human Rights decided not to pass a resolution supporting the indictment.

Names of the 39 Tibetans whose release has been requested by the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detentions:

The cases marked with an asterisk (*) have been granted parole, released or are assumed to have been released because their sentences should have been completed. The Decisions are numbered as No 65/1993 and No.66/1993 (paragraphs (h) & (m)) of the Working Group and are published in Addendum 1 to the 1994 Report (UN reference: E/CN.4/1995/31/Add.1, dated 5th October 1994).

Ganden monks arrested in March 1988 for encouraging or taking part in boycott of the Monlam festival:

- **Lhundrup Ganden** (also known as Ganden Tashi): given three years and then an additional 6 years for staging a demonstration in the prison - released on medical parole while suffering from brain damage caused by injuries sustained in custody
- **Lobsang Choejor**, lay name Kunzang Tsering, age 32, sentenced to nine years in prison.
- **Lobsang Yeshe**, age 21, sentenced to 5 years
- **Lobsang Palden**, also known as Gyaldar, age 32, sentenced to 10 years
- **Drakpa Tsultrim**, lay name Tsondru, age 41, sentenced to 8 years
- **Lobsang Tashi**, lay name Chungdag, sentenced to six years
- **Tampa Wangdrak**, lay name Sonam, age 49, sentenced to 12 years
- ***Tenzin Tsultrim**, lay name Tsering Sonam, age 26, sentenced to 5 years - sentence completed

Drepung Monks arrested in April 1989 for publishing pamphlets:

- Ngawang Phulchung, 35, sentenced to 19 years
- Ngawang Oeser, age 25, sentenced to 17 years
- Jamphele Changchub, age 33, sentenced to 19 years
- Kelsang Thutob, age 47, sentenced to 18 years
- Ngawang Gyaltzen, age 30, sentenced to 17 years
- Jampal Lobsang also known as Jampel Losel, age 29, sentenced to 10 years
- Ngawang Rigzin also known as Ngawang Rinchen, age 33, sentenced to 9 years
- *Jampal Monlam, age 29, sentenced to 5 years - sentence completed
- Jampal Tsering, age 25, sentenced to 5 years
- Ngawang Kunga, age 28, sentenced to 5 years

Others:

- Jampa Ngodrup: doctor imprisoned for 13 years for passing out names of prisoners in 1989
- *Yulu Dawa Tsering: given 10 years for speaking to Italian in 1987 - released on parole after 7 years in 1994
- Thubten Tsering (1): a Sera monastery storekeeper given 6 or 7 years for speaking to Italian in 1987
- *Dawa Kyizom (female): 3 years sentence for giving Tibetan flag on October 26, 1990 for giving a forbidden Tibetan national flag to a monk - sentence completed
- Ngawang Chamtsul also known as Loyak: a Potala monk arrested March 1989 and sentenced on December 6, 1989 to fifteen years in prison; for "engaging in "counterrevolutionary propaganda, inflammatory delusion and espionage."
- Lobsang Tsultrim, also known as Lobsang Tsondu: 72 year old Drepung monk serving 6 or 7 years sentence for "failure to reform" in 1990.
- *Phurbu Drolma (female): student from Lhasa Kushuedonpo detained for two days after "carrying" political posters on December 11, 1990 and then re-arrested. Sentence assumed to have been completed.
- *Migmar (female): a student, detained with Phurbu Drolma in December 1990. Sentence assumed to have been completed.
- *Dawa Drolma (female): schoolteacher given 3 or 5 years for writing up reactionary song on blackboard in 1989. Sentence assumed to have been completed.
- *Tseten Norgye: sentenced to 4 years for printing leaflets in April 1989 - sentence completed
- *Thubten Tsering (2): technician at Lhasa Power Station sentenced to 4 years for printing leaflets in April 1989 - sentence completed
- *Tamdin Sithar: held since 1983 for shouting slogans - released in 1992 after completing ten years of his sentence
- Ngawang Dechoe: also written as Ngawang Dekyo or Ngawang Dhenchoe, arrested at his room in the monastery dormitory probably in the evening of March 21, 1991.
- Tsering Ngodrup: restaurant owner given 12 years for encouraging songs in March 1989
- *Dorje Wangdu: detained on 22 April 1991 and sentenced to 3 years "re-education through labour" for advising friends to wear Tibetan clothes during the period in which a Kalachakra ceremony was being held in India by the Dalai Lama, as well as having

"reactionary leaflets" in his house and giving blessing cords to monks. Since believed to have been released

Nuns arrested for taking part in a pro-independence demonstration at an opera festival in the Norbulingka on 2nd September 1989:

- *Ngawang Choesum (female): 29, from Lhokha Chonggye, a nun at Chubsang nunnery, sentenced to 3 years re-education through labour
- *Ngawang Pema (female): 24, from Toelung Dechen, a nun at Chubsang or Shungseb, sentenced to 3 years re-education through labour
- *Lobsang Choedon (female): 19, from Chushul Nyethang, a nun at Chubsang nunnery, sentenced to 3 years re-education through labour
- *Phuntsog Tenzin (female): 25 (?), Nyethang Ratoe (?), sentenced to 3 years re-education through labour
- *Pasang Dolma (female): 24, a nun from Chubsang, sentenced to 3 years re-education through labour
- *Dawa Lhanzum (female): 18, from Zogang dzong, a nun from Chubsang nunnery, sentenced to 3 years re-education through labour

4 additional cases, not declared to be arbitrary detentions and not included in the list of 39 cases:

Case already announced by the Chinese authorities as released

- *Ama Phurbu (female): detained on October 31, 1989 and sentenced to 3 years reportedly for organising memorial prayers

Cases held over for further investigation (because the Chinese authorities told the UN that they can find no information about these three cases):

- Karma
- Monlam Gyatso
- Gyatso

These three men were farmers arrested in March 1992 for a protest in Meldro Gyama.

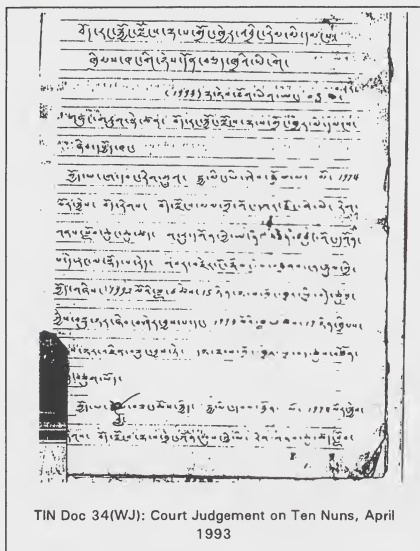
Court Judgement on 10 Nuns, April 1993

At 10am on 23rd April 1993 nine nuns from Garu nunnery were taken before a court in Lhasa. The women had staged a brief pro-independence demonstration around the Potala Palace in June 1992, nine months earlier (see TIN News Update, 2nd July 1992).

During the trial the two women who were regarded as "ring-leaders" tried to show that the other nuns had joined the protest at the last moment and had not been involved in any planning, and even claimed that they could not remember where they had staged the protest. A description of the trial by Tibetans in Lhasa was published in the TIN News Compilation of October 1993.

After 90 minutes the court found the women guilty of spreading "counter-revolutionary propaganda" and gave them sentences of up to 6 years each.

The attached document, only recently received from Tibet, gives the court's view of the trial. It is the official court judgement, written three days after the trial, and shows that ten, not nine, women were sentenced: the unofficial Tibetan account had missed out the case of Ngawang Chenma. The court document also names an eleventh nun, Ngawang Dadron (or Dedrol), but says only that her case was to be decided separately; she was aged between 15 and 17 years and so would have been treated as a juvenile.



The court document names the nun who led the protest as Ngawang Rigdrug, although all Tibetan sources refer to her as Ngawang Rigdrol. Ngawang Rigdrol was put in solitary confinement for some time during the interrogation process, but the nuns were said by Tibetans not to have been seriously mistreated during their imprisonment.

All of the nuns are believed to be held in Drapchi Prison, Lhasa. A former prisoner who escaped to India wrote a report in 1994 about Tsamchoe, the nun who received a 2 year sentence for her involvement in the Potala demonstration of June 1992.

"She was imprisoned in Gutsa prison for about ten months and then she was sentenced and shifted to Drapchi prison. There is very strict political training and the prison authorities are very cruel, and common criminals are even allowed to torture political prisoners. Every day they have to work eight hours in heated houses under extreme heat to cultivate vegetables, and also to carry and transport excrement. There are very strict rules that have to be followed and there are very heavy yearly duties with total lack of freedom of speech."

Tsamchoe "is bravely suffering in the First Unit or the Third Camp of Drapchi prison", wrote the prisoner in his account (TIN Ref: 45(WB)), which was published by Gu-chu-sum, an exile organisation based in Dharamsala, Northern India. Tsamchoe, whose ordination name is Ngawang Tenkyi, was born in 1973 in Village No.6, Tsangtong township [Chinese: *xiang*], Taktse county. She became a nun in 1988. Her father, Tsultrim Dakpa, had been the Tru-ren [Chinese: *zhuren*] or appointed leader at Ganden Monastery, but was dismissed and imprisoned after showing too much support for a delegation of Tibetan exiles allowed to visit Ganden Monastery in 1980.

Apart from this report about Tsamchoe, nothing is known about the condition of the ten nuns in Drapchi.

TIN Doc. Ref.: 34(WJ)
 of:
 Date Written: 26th April 1993
 Date Received: 5th December 1994
 No of Pages: 15
 Language, script: Tibetan, u-med
 Original: A4 photocopy on front side of pages only; pages covered with writing in black except page 15 with only two half lines at the top covered by a seal; some dates in English numerals in the text eg. "1993" and "1974" on page 1. Pages numbered by hand in bottom right corner in English numerals.
 Status:
 Title in Tibetan: *Bod rang rkyong ldzongs lha sa drong khyer 'bring rim mi dmangs khrims khang gi nyes don bcad khri' yi ge.*
 [Title in English: TAR Lhasa City Intermediate People's Court, Criminal Sentence]
 Issue No: Lhasa Criminal Document No. 08 (1993)
 Issued by: TAR Lawsuit Department, Lhasa City People's Investigation Centre [Procuracy]
 Doc.type: official court document

Doc 34 (WJ) TEXT

A Judgement Declared by the Lhasa City Intermediate People's Court.

Lhasa Criminal Document No. 08 (1993)

Prosecutor: The TAR Lhasa City Procuracy.

*Defendant: Ngawang Rigdrug [rig grug] [normally known as Ngawang Rigdrol]
 Lay name: Yeshe Drolma.
 Female. Born in 1974. Tibetan nationality.
 Originally from Meldrogongkar county, TAR.
 Educational level: primary.
 Present Occupation: a nun at Garu Nunnery.
 Lived at that nunnery before being taken into custody.*

The case concerns incitement to counter-revolutionary propaganda. Taken into the custody of the Lhasa City Public Security Bureau (PSB) on 15th June 1992.

The defendant was legally arrested on the 17th February 1993 by the Lhasa City PSB. At present the defendant is imprisoned by the Lhasa City PSB.

*Defendant: Lobsang Choekyi.
 Lay name: Peldron [Pema Drolma?].
 Female. Born in 1974. Tibetan nationality.*

Originally from Lhasa Inner City District.

Educational level: primary.

Present Occupation: a nun at Garu Nunnery.

Lived at that nunnery before being taken into custody.

The case concerns incitement to counter-revolutionary propaganda. Taken into the custody of the Lhasa City PSB on the 15th June 1992.

The defendant was legally arrested on the 17th February 1993 by the PSB. At present she is imprisoned by the Lhasa City PSB.

Defendant: Lobsang Drolma.

Lay name: Tenzin Tsomo.

Female. Born in 1972. Tibetan Nationality.

Educational level: primary.

Originally from Toelung Dechen County, TAR.

Present Occupation: a nun at Garu Nunnery.

Lived at that nunnery before being taken into custody.

The case concerns incitement to counter-revolutionary propaganda. Taken into the custody of the Lhasa City PSB on the 15th June 1992.

The defendant was legally arrested on the 17th February 1993 by the PSB. At present she is imprisoned by the Lhasa City PSB.

Defendant: Gyaltsen Nyiing-nying.

Lay name: Nyima Drolma.

Female. Born in 1970. Tibetan nationality.

Educational level: primary.

Originally from Toelung Dechen County, TAR.

Present Occupation: a nun at Garu Nunnery.

Lived at that nunnery before being taken into custody.

The case concerns incitement to counter-revolutionary propaganda. Taken into the custody of the Lhasa City PSB on the 15th June 1992.

The defendant was legally arrested on the 17th February 1993 by the PSB. At present she is imprisoned by the Lhasa City PSB.

Defendant: Ngawang Nyima.

Lay name: Sonam Palmo.

Female. Tibetan nationality. Born in 1970.

Educational level: illiterate.

Originally from Nagchu County, TAR.

Present Occupation: a nun at Garu Nunnery.

Lived at that nunnery before being taken into custody.

The case concerns incitement to counter-revolutionary propaganda. Taken into the custody of the Lhasa City PSB on the 15th June 1992.

The defendant was legally arrested on the 17th February 1993 by the PSB. At present she is imprisoned by the Lhasa City PSB.

Defendant: Damchoe Gyaltsen.

Lay name: Nyima Tsamchoe.

Female. Born in 1973. Tibetan Nationality.

Educational level: primary.

Originally from Toelung Dechen County, TAR.

Present Occupation: a nun at Garu Nunnery.

Lived at that nunnery before being taken into custody.

The case concerns incitement to counter-revolutionary propaganda. Taken into the custody of

the Lhasa City Public Security Bureau (PSB) on 15th June 1992.

The defendant was legally arrested on the 17th February 1993 by the Lhasa City PSB. At present the defendant is imprisoned by the Lhasa City PSB.

Defendant: Gyaltsen Kunsang.

Lay name: Sonam Drolkar.

Female. Born in 1972. Tibetan nationality.

Educational level: primary.

Originally from Lhundrup County, TAR.

Present Occupation: a nun at Garu Nunnery.

Lived at that nunnery before being taken into custody.

The case concerns incitement to counter-revolutionary propaganda. Taken into the custody of the Lhasa City Public Security Bureau (PSB) on 15th June 1992.

The defendant was legally arrested on the 17th February 1993 by the Lhasa City PSB. At present the defendant is imprisoned by the Lhasa City PSB.

Defendant: Ngawang Chenma.

Lay name: Tseten Yangtsom.

Female. Born in 1972. Tibetan nationality.

Educational level: primary.

Originally from Lhundrup County, TAR.

Present Occupation: a nun at Garu Nunnery.

Lived at that nunnery before being taken into custody.

The case concerns incitement to counter-revolutionary propaganda. Taken into the custody of the Lhasa City Public Security Bureau (PSB) on 15th June 1992.

The defendant was legally arrested on the 17th February 1993 by the Lhasa City PSB. At present the defendant is imprisoned by the Lhasa City PSB.

Defendant: Ngawang Samten.

Lay name: Drolma.

Female. Born in 1973. Tibetan nationality.

Educational level: primary.

Originally from Lhundrup County, TAR.

Present Occupation: a nun at Garu Nunnery.

Lived at that nunnery before being taken into custody.

The case concerns incitement to counter-revolutionary propaganda. Taken into the custody of the Lhasa City Public Security Bureau (PSB) on 15th June 1992.

The defendant was legally arrested on the 17th February 1993 by the Lhasa City PSB. At present the defendant is imprisoned by the Lhasa City PSB.

Defendant: Ngawang Tenkyi.

Lay name: Tsamchoe.

Female. Born in 1973 [?]. Tibetan nationality.

Educational level: primary.

Originally from: Taktse County, TAR.

Present Occupation: a nun at Garu Nunnery.

Lived at that nunnery before being taken into custody.

The case concerns incitement and counter-revolutionary propaganda. Taken into the custody of the Lhasa City Public Security Bureau (PSB) on 15th June 1992.

The defendant was legally arrested on the 17th February 1993 by the Lhasa City PSB. At present the defendant is imprisoned by the Lhasa City PSB.

These defendants [10 of them] have been prosecuted by the Lhasa City Procuratorate for their crimes of incitement to counter-revolutionary propaganda. After receiving the cases, the Court held a hearing and dealt with the case accordingly. Two officials from the Procuratorate, Geleg Wangdrak and Nyima Tsering, were present and assisted the Court hearing. The defendants argued their cases, and the court case is now closed.

The prosecution against the defendants by the Lhasa City Procuratorate reads as follows: At the beginning of June 1992, defendants Ngawang Rigtruk and Lobsang Choekyi discussed their demonstration and prepared two "Snow Lion Flags". On 15th June, the three defendants Ngawang Rigtruk, Lobsang Choekyi and Lobsang Drolma, left the Nunnery for Lhasa around 5 a.m. In the afternoon about 12 o'clock, these three defendants demonstrated their counter-revolutionary action by holding high the "Snow Lion Flags" and shouting "Tibet is an independent country". The defendants Gyaltsen Nyiing-nying, Ngawang Nyima, Damchoe Gyaltsen, Gyaltsen Kunsang, Ngawang Samten, Ngawang Tenkyi, Ngawang Chenma, Ngawang Pelkyi, and Ngawang Dadron (dealt with separately) joined this illegal demonstration one after another. The Public Security members on duty immediately arrested them on the spot. The defendants mentioned above admitted their crimes without any hesitation. But defendants Ngawang Rigtruk, Lobsang Choekyi and Lobsang Drolma argued that only they three were the demonstrators and that the rest were innocent. Another thing is that [the other] seven defendants argued that their demonstration was done instinctively and of their own will without planning. This illegal counter-revolutionary demonstration of 15th June occurred because of the actions of those three defendants, and also because of the actions of the other defendants. This disturbance arising from an illegal counter-revolutionary demonstration was caused by all of them, so the argument made by Ngawang Rigtruk, etc., is unreasonable.

After the public trial, it was clear that at the beginning of June 1992, Ngawang Rigtruk and Lobsang Choekyi went for pilgrimage to Ganden Monastery. On their way, Ngawang Rigtruk said that she would like to go to Lhasa to hold a demonstration. Lobsang Choekyi at once replied: "That's what I also thought about. I've been wanting to demonstrate for a long time." "It won't be good to demonstrate with empty hands, we should make a "Snow Lion Flag". Ngawang Rigtruk agreed immediately. The following day Lobsang Choekyi went to Lhasa and bought dyes and a piece of white cloth. They then made two "Snow Lion Flags" in Ngawang Rigtruk's room. On the 14th they decided to demonstrate on the 15th. That morning, at around 5 a.m., Ngawang Rigtruk, Lobsang Choekyi and Lobsang Drolma drove to Lhasa in a taxi. After their arrival, Lobsang Drolma suggested that at first they should go separately and meet at

the north side of the Lingkor by 12 o'clock midday for a demonstration. They met accordingly, and Ngawang Rigtruk and Lobsang Choekyi each held up "Snow Lion Flags", and with Lobsang Drolma leading them, they shouted slogans: "Tibet is an independent country". As soon as this counter-revolutionary demonstration appeared, defendants Gyaltsen Nyiing-nying, Ngawang Nyima, Damchoe Gyaltsen, Gyaltsen Kunsang, Ngawang Chenma, Ngawang Samten, Ngawang Tenkyi, Ngawang Pelkyi and Ngawang Dadron, who were circumambulating the Lingkor, at once joined the demonstration. They all shouted counter-revolutionary slogans, claiming that "Tibet is an independent country." When this illegal counter-revolutionary demonstration occurred, the Public Security members on duty immediately arrested them red-handed.

Mentioned above are the facts, and these are their confessions together with the two "Snow Lion Flags" captured from them. We have strong evidence and we believe you will share the same point of view.

The Court pointed out that the defendants Ngawang Rigtruk, Lobsang Choekyi, Lobsang Drolma, Gyaltsen Nyiing-nying, Damchoe Gyaltsen, Gyaltsen Kunsang, Ngawang Nyima, Ngawang Chenma, Ngawang Samten, and Ngawang Tenkyi have displayed the "Snow Lion Flag" with counter-revolutionary motives, and have shouted counter-revolutionary slogans such as "Tibet is an independent country". Their illegal demonstration is in contravention of Article 102, paragraph 2, of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China. They have in fact committed the crime of inciting counter-revolutionary propaganda. Amongst them, Ngawang Rigtruk and Lobsang Choekyi are the ringleaders and must be punished severely. Defendants Lobsang Drolma, Gyaltsen Nyiing-nying, Ngawang Nyima, Damchoe Gyaltsen, Gyaltsen Kunsang, Ngawang Chenma, Ngawang Samten, and Ngawang Tenkyi are accomplices and should be punished comparatively leniently. Defendant Ngawang Tenkyi committed the crime while aged under 18, and should be punished more leniently. To defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist system and the unification of the country, and to strike blows at counter-revolutionaries who aim to separate our country, according to Article 102 (paragraph 2), Articles 23 and 24, Article 14 (paragraph 3), and Article 52, the verdict of the Court is declared to be as follows:

1. Defendant Ngawang Rigtruk has committed the crime of inciting counter-revolutionary propaganda. Sentenced to be imprisoned for a term of six years. Her political rights are to be withdrawn for two years.

2. Defendant Lobsang Choekyi has committed the crime of inciting counter-revolutionary propaganda. Sentenced to be imprisoned for a term of six years. Her political rights are to be withdrawn for two years.

3. Defendant **Lobsang Drolma** has committed the crime of inciting counter-revolutionary propaganda. Sentenced to be imprisoned for a term of five years. Her political rights are to be withdrawn for two years.

4. Defendant **Gyaltsen Nying-nying** has committed the crime of inciting counter-revolutionary propaganda. Sentenced to be imprisoned for a term of four years. Her political rights are to be withdrawn for one year.

5. Defendant **Ngawang Nyima** has committed the crime of inciting counter-revolutionary propaganda. Sentenced to be imprisoned for a term of four years. Her political rights are to be withdrawn for one year.

6. Defendant: **Damchoe Gyaltsen** has committed the crime of inciting counter-revolutionary propaganda. Sentenced to be imprisoned for a term of four years. Her political rights are to be withdrawn for one year.

7. Defendant: **Gyaltsen Kunsang** has committed the crime of inciting counter-revolutionary propaganda. Sentenced to be imprisoned for a term of four years. Her political rights are to be withdrawn for one year.

8. Defendant: **Ngawang Chenma** has committed the crime of inciting counter-revolutionary propaganda. Sentenced to be imprisoned for a term of four years. Her political rights are to be withdrawn for two years.

9. Defendant: **Ngawang Samten** has committed the crime of inciting counter-revolutionary propaganda. Sentenced to be imprisoned for a term of four years. Her political rights are to be withdrawn for one year.

10. Defendant **Ngawang Tenkyi** has committed the crime of inciting counter-revolutionary propaganda. Sentenced to be imprisoned for a term of two years. Her political rights are to be withdrawn for one year.

If the defendants do not agree with the verdict, they can appeal through our Court or directly to the Supreme Court of TAR within ten days. The appeal must be written on paper and must include one original and three copies.

Chief Judge: Jampa Ngodrup
Judge: Ngawang Sonam
Assistant Judge: Lhakpa Wangdi

Dated 26th April 1992 [error for 1993?]
[Overstamped with seal of] the Lhasa City
Intermediate People's Court of TAR
Clerk: Jampa

10 Garu Nuns Detained 15th June 1992; Charged 17th February 1993; Sentenced 26th April 1993

Ordination Name	Lay Name	Birthplace	Date of Birth	Sentence	Withdrawal of Rights
Ngawang Rigtrug	Yeshe Drolma	Meldrogungkar	1974	6 yrs	2 yrs
Lobsang Choekyi	Peldroen	Lhasa Inner City	1974	6 yrs	2 yrs
Lobsang Drolma	Tenzin Tsomo	Toelung Dechen	1972	5 yrs	2 yrs
Gyaltsen Nying-nying	Nyima Drolma	Toelung Dechen	1970	4 yrs	1 yrs
Ngawang Nyima	Sonam Palmo	Nagchu county	1970	4 yrs	1 yr
Damchoe Gyaltsen	Nyima Tsamchoe	Toelung Dechen	1973	4 yrs	1 yr
Gyaltsen Kunsang	Sonam Drolkar	Lhundrup	1972	4 yrs	1 yr
Ngawang Chenma	Tseten Yangdzom	Lhundrup	1972	4 yrs	1 yr
Ngawang Samten	Drolma	Lhundrup	1973	4 yrs	1 yr
Ngawang Tenkyi	Tsamchoe	Taktse	1973	2 yrs	1 yr
Ngawang Dadroen (dealt with separately; verdict and sentence not known)					

Chinese Press on Internal TAR Politics

Summaries of selected articles from the Chinese press on internal politics in Tibet. The date of publication is given first, followed at the end of each summary by the date the article appeared in translation in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts.

8 September: An eight-day enlarged session of the TAR CCP committee devoted to study of the Third Forum closed with an exhortatory speech by Chen Kuiyuan, Tibet party secretary, *Tibet Daily* reported on 8 September. He noted that Tibet should stand on his own feet and not seek too much external support; China (and Tibet) should not stick just to old-style Maoism or the party would end up like the Soviet communists; the Third Forum was the way forward; comrades should not expect only handouts; stability should be safeguarded and separatism opposed; no party members should hold religious beliefs; over-rigid control, not economic disorder, was the weakness in economic development; everyone must get a good grasp of the Forum's guidelines. (4 October)

20 September: Tibet's economic development is hampered "by destabilising factors which originated with the Dalai clique", *Tibet Daily* asserted. Laba Pingcuo [Lhagpa Phuntsog], vice-chairman of the TAR government, accused the "Dalai clique" of "fishing in troubled waters", promoting splittism and confusion. Sangzhu [Samdrup], secretary of the Shigatse party committee, reported that his prefecture had openly criticised the "splittist Dalai clique ... we have achieved very good results in this respect". "Leading comrades" were quoted as saying "We should shatter the Dalai clique's restorationist dream by building a prosperous new Tibet". The report continued: "In the light of the Dalai clique's gradual infiltration into farming and pastoral areas ... we should strengthen ... political work". Stability in Lhasa plays a decisive role, the report noted, and leading comrades signed documents with the TAR under which "they would be responsible for attaining certain goals in safeguarding social stability". (4 October)

11-25 September: SWB noted the following Tibet leader appearances (for consistency, dates given are those of reports): Chen Kuiyuan and Gyaincain Norbu in Beijing, with Jiang Zeming, Qiao Shi, Hu Jintao (25 September); Basang [Pasnag], Yang Chuantang, Lhamin Soinam Lhunzhub [Sonam Lhundrup] at the TAR federation of industry and commerce (18 September); Luosang Toinzhub [Lobsang Dondrup] at Lhasa city CP meeting (20 September); Laba Pingcuo [Lhakpa Phuntsog] at class for training leading cadres (21 September); Luosang Toinzhub at Lhasa people's association for friendship with foreign countries (16 September). Yang Chuantang spoke on prices (23 September); Guo Jinlong at Construction Bank (17 September); Chen Kuiyuan at Shannan (18 September), and at meeting in Lhasa (20 September); Laba Pingcuo meeting foreigners (23 September); Yang Chuantang at TAR CCP committee meeting (4 September); Raidi, Gyaincain Norbu, Yang Chuantang met Geology minister (5 September); Gyaincain Norbu and Yang Chuantang at price conference (7 September); teachers' day message by Gyaincain Norbu (10 September); Danzim [Tenzin] visited Shannan (11 September); Yang Chuantang greeted planning group in Lhasa (10 September)

24 September: Xinhua published a Chinese-language version of its 23 September English language account of an interview with Gyaincain Norbu on the Regional Autonomy Law. The Chinese version does not report the passage about separatists and "autonomy of a greater Tibetan region" which appears in the English version, the BBC points out. (4 October)

29 September: Guo Jinlong, Tibet CCP deputy secretary, delivered a national-day speech stressing unity with China and adherence to the guidelines of the Third Forum, Lhasa radio reported. He called for study, hard work, unity among nationalities and for strengthened resistance to "splittism", which was "grim". Religious activities should be carried out within "boundaries", cadres should be "purified", discipline enforced, education for youngsters strengthened, and security work should "give full play to the pillar role of dictatorship", he added. (11 October)

23 December: A meeting of the TAR congress standing committee closed after adopting the legislative plan of the regional people's congress and rules on implementing PRC laws on protection of minors and on safety in mines, Lhasa TV reported. (10 January)

23 December: Lhasa TV provided the following biographical details of two new TAR vice-chairmen. They were 1. Xiang Yang, male, Tibetan nationality, aged 56, from Xunhua county, Qinghai, and 2. Sun Qiwen, male, from Shenyang, Liaoning province, aged 53. Xiang is college-educated and has worked his way up the Tibet bureaucracy, since 1980 increasingly involved in economic work. Sun, of "middle peasant background", has worked in Tibet since 1965 and since 1986 has held planning and economic posts. (10 January)

2 January: The study of Deng Xiaoping's theory in Tibet was still "inadequate", Huang Yusheng, deputy director of the regional propaganda department declared, *Tibet Daily* reported on 9 January. Laba Pingcuo [Lhakpa Phuntsog], vice-chairman of the TAR government said at a meeting on 29 December that "to change the backward outlook of Tibet ... we must arm the minds of cadres and masses with this theory". Also present were Du Tai and Qun Jiao, of the propaganda department. (28 January)

9 January: "Last year our region promulgated 12 local laws and statutes, including laws which cover commodity markets and mining safety", *Tibet Daily* noted. "In terms of quantity and quality, 1994 saw the best legislation since the establishment of the standing committee (of the TAR congress)", it added. Further legislation dealt with handling foreigners who visit Tibet to go mountain climbing. (28 January)

16 January: At the start of 1994 the TAR party committee issued guidelines on reform policies to encourage production and link the region with Chinese provinces, Lhasa radio reported. New measures were undertaken in state-owned enterprises, finance and taxation, investment, foreign trade, circulation, social security and housing. These were designed to encourage efficiency and independent decisionmaking, streamline the tax system, foster exports, extend social

and housing benefits and improve the investment structure, all more or less in line with reforms elsewhere in China. (28 January)

24 January: The party committee's lecture group spoke to public security men and police about the "protracted,

complicated and arduous" anti-separatist struggle, *Tibet Daily* reported. It was "extremely important" to "raise their understanding and unify their thinking", the paper added. The "Dalai clique and Western hostile forces" disliked Tibet's economic development, it said. (28 January)

TIBETAN-CHINESE RELATIONS

Former Soldiers to be Welcomed to Tibet

TIN News / Provisional Note Revised / 20 February, 1995

Former soldiers and paramilitary troops are to be encouraged or instructed to take up positions as cadres in Tibet, according to the main Party handbook describing China's new policy for Tibet, formulated at a major conference in July 1994. Officials have already taken steps since the conference to encourage more students, cadres, technicians, and entrepreneurs to go to work in Tibet.

The book calls on officials to arrange for former soldiers to settle in Tibet. The published instructions are ambiguous about whether the new positions are compulsory, and do not make it clear the military settlers should be offered fixed-term contracts or whether they should become long-term settlers; both options are implied.

"We should recruit specially trained students, former troops of the People's Armed Police and demobilised soldiers to be cadres," says the handbook (pp86-87). "By dividing the task among different areas [different provinces of China] and by [specifying] different periods they have to serve, we should continue to import Chinese and other nationalities to work in Tibet", it continues.

The instructions are published in a book called *The Golden Bridge To Stride Into the New Century - Material to Publicise the Spirit of the Third Forum on Work in Tibet*. It was issued in Lhasa on 1st October 1994 by the TAR Communist Party Propaganda Committee, published by the TAR People's Publishing House. (TIN Reference: Doc 29(WJ)).

The instructions also call for former Chinese soldiers who were brought to work in Tibet in the 1950s to be promoted. "Not only should we continuously select and withdraw cadres from the interior, according to the plans, [but] those who have worked in Tibet for a long time and who are outstanding should be selected and used," the book says. It praises the work of the "large number of soldiers and cadres" who have worked in Tibet in the last decades.

"They worked with high political consciousness and a self-sacrificing spirit. They implemented the Central Communist Party's policies through overcoming all sorts of difficulties. They were well-disciplined and by respecting the Tibetan people's traditional customs and habits they had a good relationship with the masses, and made their contributions to the unification of the nationalities and to the development of Tibet," it adds.

རིགས་དང་གངས་ཀྱི་མི་རིགས་གཞན་གྱི་ལས་ཤེད་པ་འབོར་
ཆེན་ཞིག་ལྷན་སྐྱེས་སྤྱོད་དུ་ལས་ཀྱི་ཤེད་པར་ཡོང་ཡོད། ཁོང་
ཆོས་ཚད་མཐོན་ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཉོག་ས་དང་རང་ཉིད་སྒྲིམ་གཏོང་
བའི་མིའི་སྤྱོད་པས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་དཀའ་ངལ་ལྡོག་ས་ཁྱད་བསད་
ཐོག་གྲང་དབུ་གི་ཤེད་ཚོགས་སྤྱི་ཅུས་ལག་ལེན་ནམ་དག་
བསྟར་བ་དང་། རྟོན་ན་པོས་སྤྱི་ལམ་ལ་སྤྱོད་བཅུ་དང་བོད་
རིགས་མི་དམངས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་སྡེ་གྲོ་མས་གཤིས་ལ་བཅུ་འཛིན་
བོད་མི་དམངས་ཀྱི་ཆེད་དུ་ལས་བཟང་འབོར་ཆེན་ཤེད་པ། ལྷ་
ཆེད་བོད་རིགས་ལས་ཤེད་པ་དང་མང་ཆོག་ས་དང་མཐུན་གྱི་ལ་
གཅིག་གྱེས་ཤེད་པ་བཅས་ཀྱི་སྒྲི་ནས་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་གྱི་ལ་
དང་བོད་ཀྱི་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ལ་སྤྱོད་འདོད་ཡོང་ཆེད་ལྷ་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་རང་
བཞིན་ལྷན་པའི་ལེགས་སྤྱོད་སྤུས་ལོད། སྤྱོད་ཆེན་པོས་བོད་
དུ་ཡན་རིང་ལས་ཀྱི་ཤེད་པའི་ལུ་སྤྱོད་གི་བོད་སྤྱོད་ལས་ཤེད་པ་
གཞན་གསེས་བོད་སྤྱོད་ཤེད་ཆུ་དང་། མཐུན་ཆུ་ལ་ནང་ནས་
འཆར་གཞི་ཡོད་པའི་སྤྱོད་ནས་ལས་ཤེད་པ་གཞན་གསེས་སྤྱོད་
འཛིན་བུ་སྤྱོད་མ་བཟ། ཞག་བཞིས་འགན་འཁུར་དང་དུས་
བཀག་བཅའ་རིས་ཀྱི་ཤེད་སྤྱོད་ལ་བཅུ་དང་ཆུ་རིགས་དང་དེ་
མཉམ་གྱི་གངས་ཀྱི་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ལས་ཤེད་པ་འགའ་ཤས་བོད་དུ་
ལས་ཀྱི་ཤེད་པར་ནང་དང་ས་ཤེད་ཆུ། དམིགས་འཕྲུག་སྤྱོད་
མ་བཅུ་བ་དང་། བཟང་བཟམས་བཀོལ་སྤྱོད་ དྲག་ཆས་
ཉེན་རྒྱུ་དཔུང་མེད་དམག་ལོག་དང་ལས་སྤྱོད་མཉམ་མེད་ནང་

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TIN Doc 29(WJ) p86: Page from *The Golden Bridge on selecting former Armed Police to work in Tibet*

Students, Soldiers and Technicians Sent to Tibet

The decision to encourage movement of students and soldiers to Tibet was made at the Third National Forum in July 1994, and in the following months articles appeared in the Chinese press indicating that these policies were being carried out. The articles covered the four main categories of migration into Tibet: cadres, technicians, soldiers, and entrepreneurs.

The Chinese authorities have been looking for students to take up positions, mainly as cadres, in the Tibet Autonomous Region, and in December 1994 announced that 100 college graduates would be sent to the Region by the Ministry of Personnel after they graduate in the summer of 1995. 400 students from China had applied for the 100 posts in the TAR after attending a China's

first "nationwide job fair", held in Xian, Shaanxi Province in December.

An unnamed official said that the "growing interest in jobs in Tibet and other border areas" amongst students had arisen because "graduates in these regions enjoy better pay, quicker promotion and more welfare compared with those working in inland cities", according to a statement by Xinhua on 14th December.

Besides sending students and soldiers, the authorities are also sending older cadres and technicians to Tibet. China announced on 25th February 1995 that 1,000 "outstanding leading officials and technicians" from inland China were going to be sent to the Tibet Autonomous Region. The cadres would "help boost local economy and promote social progress", said Xinhua, the official news agency. "They are generally under 45 years old and will be rotated every five years," it added. Similar announcements have been made in recent years, but usually involving less than 150 cadres.

Chen: "Tibetans Learn Skills When a Hinterlander Makes Money in Tibet"

In an important statement in November 1994 the Party Secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Region, Chen Kuiyuan, called for more encouragement to be given to entrepreneurs to come from China to open restaurants and shops in Tibet. "All localities should have an open mind and welcome the opening of various restaurants and stores by people from the hinterland", Secretary Chen told an audience in Drayab, in Chamdo prefecture, 600 km east of Lhasa, according to Lhasa Radio report on 28th November.

Chen sought to persuade Tibetans in Chamdo to accept and encourage the establishment of more enterprises - apparently a term here meaning small shops and businesses - through "regional associations", or links with areas of inland China. Chen made it clear that it was government policy to encourage entrepreneurs to go to Tibet, noting that the Tibet regional authorities had "offered many preferential policies" to encourage the "development of regional associations". Chen assured Tibetans that they would benefit even though the money from such enterprises would not go to them:

"They [the localities] should not be afraid that people from the hinterland are taking their money or jobs away. Under a socialist market economy, Tibet develops its economy and the Tibetan people learn the skills to earn money when a hinterlander makes money in Tibet. While people from the hinterland are doing business in Tibet, they need places to eat and sleep, and this will enlarge Tibet's market," said Chen, in an unusually frank response to the concerns of Tibetans about the increasing number of Chinese traders being encouraged to settle in Tibet.

Tibetan officials working for the Chinese administration in Tibet have also argued that there are advantages to the migration of Chinese to the area, but some of the statements by Tibetan officials are ambiguous in tone and do not amount to fulsome support for the migration policy. "The flow of people is not necessarily a bad thing and the most important thing is whether it is

conducive to the development of Tibet," Raidi, a deputy Party Secretary, said at a news conference in March 1994.

Raidi added that 11.9% of the 400,000 people living in the Lhasa municipality - about 47,600 people - are ethnic Chinese, and 87.2% are Tibetan. The figures are deliberately misleading: the term Lhasa municipality refers to the area usually called Lhasa prefecture, and not to Lhasa city. Only about one third of the Tibetans in the Lhasa "municipality" or prefecture live in the city of Lhasa. If the 47,000 Chinese in Lhasa prefecture all live in the city of Lhasa, which is likely, then the correct percentage of Chinese in Lhasa will be closer to 30%.

Military Officers Sent to Tibet

Chinese military authorities have also indicated that they are sending more officers to Tibet. On 10th February 1995 Sichuan radio announced that the military authorities had started a "transfer training programme" for high level military officers in Tibet.

The radio report gave no details about the programme, except to say that Kui Fulin, the Commander of the Chengdu Military Region, which includes part of Tibet, and Zhang Zhijian, the Region's Political Commissar, encouraged the first batch of officers being transferred to Tibet "to accomplish something significant".

The transfer programme indicates that the army wants to increase the number of serving high-level Chinese officers in Tibet, as well as the former soldiers referred to in the *Golden Bridge*.

The significance accorded to the transfer programme was indicated by the inclusion in the broadcast of a statement from Jiang Zemin, China's Party Secretary. The statement implied that the quality of officers currently stationed in Tibet is not high enough. Jiang described the transfer programme as a "strategic move" which would "help exchange cadres' style of thinking and traditions, improve the whole quality of the contingent of cadres at the divisional and regimental levels, and invigorate leading bodies".

The articles do not mention any agricultural settlement in Tibet and refer only to people who would not necessarily be permanent migrants.

Muslim-Tibetan Clashes

TIN News Update / 7 February, 1995 revised 11 March

Up to a dozen people were arrested in Lhasa on Thursday and Friday after violence flared between Tibetans and Chinese Muslim entrepreneurs, according to unofficial sources in Tibet. The unrest followed an incident three weeks ago during which a Tibetan monk was badly wounded by a shopkeeper in Shigatse.

Police intervened in the afternoon of Thursday 2nd February after a group of Tibetans in Lhasa smashed up a restaurant run by Hui (Chinese Muslims) in the Barkor, the Tibetan quarter of the city. The Tibetans apparently claimed that they had been served human flesh, a contention that recurs regularly in different areas of Tibet and could have been used as an excuse for the incident.

Windows were smashed and furniture was broken at the restaurant. In retaliation Hui restaurateurs throw bricks at the windows of nearby Tibetan restaurants, but there appears to have been no widespread damage. Police and paramilitary troops arrived on the scene in large numbers, and foreigners in the area were told to return to their hotels, where they were locked in for the night.

Three tourists, who asked not to be named, said that they saw a group of Tibetans including two monks being beaten with clubs by police in open-backed trucks on Dekyi Lam, the main street in the old quarter of Lhasa.

"It seems to have been a small incident which was put down with excessive use of force", according to one of the travellers, who said he had seen armed police with tear gas canisters on the roofs of nearby buildings. By the next morning conditions in the area had returned to normal, apart from a strong police presence in the Barkor.

The Lhasa violence follows a serious incident in Shigatse, Tibet's second city, in mid-January, during which a Tibetan monk was badly wounded, according to an unconfirmed report. Earlier reports published by TIN had stated that the monk had died from his wounds, but these accounts were incorrect.

The monk, who was from Tashilhunpo monastery, was allegedly hacked with a meat cleaver following an argument with a Hui shopkeeper. The quarrel began when the monk complained that a Tibetan from the countryside was being overcharged by the shopkeeper, according to an unofficial source.

After the incident Tibetans ransacked the shop, and a number of Tashilhunpo monks are said to have forced Hui shops in the area to close down. Police did not intervene during the looting, according to one source, who suggested that the situation was so tense that the police may have thought that interference would provoke more violence. "Such an incident has never been reported in the TAR before", claimed the source, a Lhasa Tibetan. The shop owner was arrested in connection with the incident.

Tension between Tibetans and Hui

Tibetan animosity towards Hui migrants in central Tibet has accelerated rapidly in the last two years as large numbers of Chinese Muslims have taken advantage of China's 1992 drive for rapid marketisation of the economy, in particular in Central Tibet where Chinese authorities ordered a widespread construction boom in April 1992 of shop and retail outlets to attract migrant entrepreneurs. Hui traders are renowned in China for being able to work to low profit margins in remote and under-capitalised areas, because of their extended family connections to cash reserves and to trading outlets throughout China.

In Eastern Tibet there has often been tension between Tibetan and Hui communities, and in 1993 there was unrest in Labrang, a major Tibetan monastery, after local Muslims were allowed by the Chinese authorities

to build a mosque nearby. There were major wars between the Tibetans and Hui communities in the Labrang area earlier this century.

Anti-Hui resentment in Lhasa focuses on new shopkeepers and tea-house owners, but there have been increasing reports of conflict between Tibetan nomads and Hui in remote rural areas north of Lhasa. At least 19 Tibetans were detained in Sog county in northern Tibet in July 1993 after protests against Chinese hunters and poachers, who are now thought to have been Hui entrepreneurs.

Similar reports are now emerging from areas neighbouring Sog, including Pungkar, a town in Nagchu Dri-ru county, and Rhonghu, where there appears to have been a rapid expansion in rural mining. "Tens and thousands of Chinese are settling in these areas," said one Tibetan. "The inflow began in mid June 1994 and since October 1994 has been overflowing," he said, claiming that 54 mines have opened in the area, just south of Qinghai province, and were being staffed by Chinese workers, many of them prospecting for gold.

Roving traders have come with the miners, according to the source. "In addition hundreds of Gya-Hu-Hu [*Hui*] invade the nomad areas and tempt them to sell their herds," said the Tibetan. "These Chinese buy the whole herd from a nomad, paying one thousand yuan per herd irrespective of whether it is big or small. The innocent herders are finding it an opportunity to make money and many nomads have sold their whole herd," he said. Hui traders usually seek animal products from nomads, such as furs and wool, but the sudden introduction by the traders of cash in a largely barter economy has led to a growing number of conflicts.

In one alleged incident last autumn, typical of stories circulating amongst Tibetans, two Hui traders are supposed to have tricked nomads in Lhokha by giving them counterfeit money.

"It happened like this: one day two Muslim Chinese arrived to buy yaks for slaughtering. They paid the price that was asked and managed to gather 50-60 yaks ... Then the herders gathered and found that the bank notes were fakes", claimed one Tibetan in Lhasa, who had not witnessed the incident.

Other accounts given by Tibetans of Hui behaviour are inflammatory or racist. Accounts received by TIN from Tibet in February accused the Hui of infanticide, attempting to poison Tibetans by polluting food, bizarre burial rites which had led to the pollution of communal water supplies, beating monks and raping nuns. One Tibetan claimed that he knew of areas where the Muslims "hang their black Muslim flag over the monasteries and turn the prayer halls into restaurants." Another reported an anecdote from Nagchu which alleged that two young girls had been sold to Hui for 1,000 yuan each, on condition that the "girls will adopt Chinese culture and will never do anything which has aspects of Tibetan culture".

Itinerant Hui traders have bought furs and other animal products from Tibetan nomads for centuries in Amdo (Qinghai), and the trade, particularly in Golog areas of Southern Amdo, has long been a speciality of Hui

families based in Linxia, a town in present day Gansu, near the Tibetan monastery of Labrang Tashikyil. The largest group of Chinese entrepreneurs moving into Lhasa in the post-1992 migration are believed to have come from the Hui community in Linxia.

Relations between Tibetan Buddhists and Tibetan Muslims, who have co-existed in Tibet for centuries, are believed to be unaffected by the new antagonism against Hui migrant entrepreneurs.

Additional note:

Chinese Confirm Restaurant Incident, Deny Ethnic Conflict

In an unusual move the Chinese authorities confirmed that incidents following a quarrel in a restaurant took place in Lhasa on 2nd and 3rd February, and that "several restaurants" in the Lhasa Barkor had been damaged. But the Chinese government strongly denied that there was any ethnic conflict involved in the incident, and accused "splittist elements headed by the Dalai" of escalating the quarrel by inventing the accusation of racial antagonism.

The "street brawl" began with a quarrel at about 2pm on 2nd February between a restaurant owner and a farmer who complained that he had found a piece of fingernail in a dish he had ordered, according to the Xinhua statement issued on 11th February.

A crowd gathered outside the restaurant, and "some hoodlums stepped in and beat employees of the restaurant and threw stones and wine bottles at policemen who came to maintain order", said Xinhua.

A second incident took place early the next morning when "a handful of hoodlums damaged several restaurants on the street". They also broke the glass on the front door of a local tax office and injured a number of policemen on duty there, according to the official report.

"The scuffles between a few farmers from neighbouring villages and owners of a Lhasa restaurant, which occurred on 2nd February, were by no means caused by inter-ethnic contradictions", a spokesman for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs told the Russian ITAR-TASS news agency on 11th February.

"Splittist elements headed by the Dalai, in and outside Tibet, are arbitrarily labelling trivial matters, such as street arguments between individuals, as so-called issues between nationalities to start rumours and create troubles," announced Tibet TV on the same day, according to the BBC Monitoring Service. The statement accused Tibetan nationalists of falsely claiming that the incident was based on racial conflict. "This shows that they are now at their wits' end, as well as a dead end, and can only use such clumsy, dirty tricks, trying to attain their sinful goal."

The quick reaction by the authorities to Western press reports of the restaurant incident is unusual, suggesting that the Chinese administration is anxious to resist any suggestions of ethnic conflict in Tibet. Unofficial Tibetan sources in Lhasa all characterised the incident as an anti-Hui protest, and one source claimed that

there was a small demonstration in Lhasa on 5th or 6th February calling for Hui to leave Tibet. The report was unconfirmed.

Local television in Tibet broadcast pictures of the fingernail allegedly found in the food, together with a statement by the Tibetan who made the original allegation, in order to persuade viewers that the reports of human flesh being found in the restaurant were exaggerated. The report blamed "splittists", members of the Tibetan pro-independence movement, for exploiting the incident and damaging restaurants.

Tibetans who saw the television broadcast seem to have accepted that the incident had involved a fingernail rather than cannibalism, but insisted that the incident was still suspicious. "Nothing was said or shown on the television about how the finger nail came to be in the noodle soup", one Tibetan in Lhasa told TIN. "During the 10 pm news on the television, they said there was no human flesh in the noodle soup. But the Tibetans in Lhasa did not believe at all in what was said in the news about this. They believe it is quite impossible to have a human finger nail without human flesh, unless the cook had chopped up his own finger. But the truth was that the cook had not chopped either his finger or nail...", the Tibetan insisted.

Correction: A report published by TIN on 7th February implied that the restaurant incident in Lhasa began on 3rd February. In fact it began on 2nd February and was followed by a further incident on 3rd February. The report also said that a Tashilhunpo monk had been killed after a dispute with a shopkeeper in Shigatse. This report was incorrect: the monk, whose name is not known, recovered from his wounds in hospital.

Cordons, Machine-guns and Arrests

A tourist who was caught up in the crowd during the beginning of the restaurant incident on 3rd February gives an account of the tension in Lhasa arising rapidly from even a small incident.

On 2nd February 1995 I went into the Barkor to do some shopping. It was about quarter past three in the afternoon, and I was standing by a place which westerners call 'Khampa Corner', when some men ran by. It was very odd. One of them was carrying something I wanted to buy and I called to him. He looked at me for a couple of seconds and then his friend came running, so they both left. They kept running. At that moment police started running into the Barkor.

I wasn't sure whether to go forward or backward. Then the police cordoned off the corner of the Barkor where I was standing. They were all running around with walkie talkies. It was very frightening because it was unclear whether or not they would start shooting: there were 15-20 uniformed police, many of whom were Tibetan, with machine guns, some on the ground level with guns and others up on the roof with guns. It felt as if each one was assigned a territory to cover. The security forces were cordoning the area off and clearing people out. They were pushing back and at the front lines the Tibetan men were moving right up to the front of the line. Except for the two men I had seen first,

nobody else was running. In fact, people were gathering, and the Tibetan men were right at the front and they were not budging. There was no sense of fear. They were letting people through that had to go home through the Barkor, while other people were just standing there; in fact, quite suddenly, after about an hour, they opened up a little channel for people who needed to move forward, so I decided to act like everything was normal and continue with the shopping trip.

The restaurant in question was on that corner. There was no evidence at that time of Tibetans fighting, demonstrating, or acting in any way that could be construed as violent. They were just standing there.

I did my shopping and waited for a period of time to pass, and then went to see someone who explained that some Tibetans had been in the restaurant and had seen a finger. Everyone at this point believes that it was a human finger, cut off at the first knuckle. I kept asking how much of the finger? It was told from the 1st knuckle up. Enough for it to be believed that it was human, they all said.

The next day, 3 February, when I went back, everything looked absolutely peaceful and normal. However, later in the day, a woman burst into my room in hysterics, out of control saying: They're doing it! They're coming! The troops! They're dragging people! They're screaming! I asked what was going on and the woman responded: They're coming right outside! They are dragging monks! It's horrible.

I went down to the door. Outside the door, and this was all I could see, were marching troops, armed with machine guns and riot helmets—at least 30, but they were marching past down Dekyi Lam and I could only see what was going on from the angle I could see out the door. There were people screaming. I did not see the troops dragging anyone, but the woman said that they were taking monks. I went back inside the building and was able to look down onto the street and by then it was very very quiet. There was nothing: it had all passed.

Of the civilians they arrested, one was a relative of someone I knew. She had just been standing on the street, so it seems that at the beginning the arrests were random.

I was told that the arrests that happened on Saturday 4th February had occurred because Tibetans had stoned five other Muslim restaurants, and they were boarding up the Muslim restaurants. I never saw Tibetans stoning anything, but a lot of Muslims restaurants were boarded up.

The tension continued all through the weekend but the next week was apparently very calm. There was no word of any demonstrations or disturbances, and the visible armed police presence decreased.

1993 Protests in Northern Tibet Confirmed

TIN News Update / 30 November, 1994 full

The Chinese authorities have confirmed the outbreak of "serious" unrest in a remote town in northern Tibet last year. Reports from Tibetans say that anti-Chinese unrest flared in the area - Sog county in Nagchu prefecture - after Tibetans began a county-wide campaign in July 1993 to force Chinese poachers and traders to leave the area.

In other areas of the county Tibetans accused the Chinese of building settlements on farming land, while Tibetans in one rural area of Sog have sent a letter appealing for international assistance because of what they say are muggings by "Chinese gangs".

18 Chinese-owned shops were damaged by protestors in the main county town of Sog Dzong during the July 1993 protests. In the rural district of Yagla troops surrounded villages and imprisoned at least 19 Tibetans, including local officials, after the Tibetans had evicted Chinese migrants and traders from the villages.

A report in the official Party newspaper *Xizang Ribao* (Tibet Daily), published on Saturday by the BBC Monitoring Service,¹ confirmed for the first time that protests had taken place. "In July last year [1993] a small number of criminals stirred up a serious incident of violence", said the paper in its 8th November edition.

The incidents were described as consisting of "beating, smashing and looting" by "criminal offenders", but the paper listed the crackdown that followed the unrest as an example of the Party's "accurate and relentless strikes at activities of national separatists", signalling that the protests were in fact political. The paper said a "work group" of Party officials was sent to the area and "worked assiduously for 40 days in conducting a thorough investigation and meting out punishments". It gave no further details.

Tibetans from the area, 340 km north-east of Lhasa, say that there was a campaign by locals, including officials, in the summer of 1993 to oust Chinese traders and migrants from the area after an increase in poaching and settlement by the Chinese. There was a large-scale demonstration on 14th July in the town of Sog Dzong, the main town in Sog county, as well as smaller protests in nearby villages and against Chinese trappers in the countryside. There were no explicit calls for independence in the protests.

"For the past many years, there have been unsettled Chinese people wandering in the mountains in our three counties of Sog [Tibetan: Sogs], Biru [Bri-ru] and Drachen [sBra-chen]. They hunt rare animals and collect medicinal plants, as a result threatening their extinction."

one Tibetan from the area wrote in a letter smuggled out to TIN and addressed to "everyone investigating Tibetan affairs and involved in media". The letter appealed for world protection and support.

¹ See BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 26 November 1994, FE/2163 G/9 [12]

"The Tibetans, seething with anger, took the occasion of a public cinema show to be an opportune moment to give vent to their feelings," said Pema Thinley, an official at the exile Government's Information Department based in Northern India, speaking of the July 1993 protest in Sog Dzong, the county town. "They ransacked the eighteen Chinese shops and restaurants nearby and raised slogans demanding that no Chinese businessmen ever be allowed to settle in their area again. Next day all the Chinese shopkeepers and restaurateurs in the area were thrown out," he said. The exile account concurs with the broad outlines given in the *Tibet Daily* article.

Yagla Villagers Evict Chinese in Protest Against Assaults

A letter from a Tibetan in the Dri and Do districts of Sog county repeated claims of excessive poaching and hunting by Chinese migrants, but also included allegations that the Chinese traders in the area were carrying out assaults on local Tibetans, claiming that over 100 local Tibetans had been ambushed by "gangs".

Tibetans in the area formed their own vigilante groups to try to stop the assaults, carrying out citizens' arrests on suspects and handing them over to the police. The villagers claim that the police took no action against the suspects apart from checking that their documents allowed them to be in Tibet.

"The people in our districts took the initiative to form a group to search the mountains for such Chinese. We arrested five Chinese and in accordance with the provisions of law, we handed them over to the local Chinese Security Bureau in our district. We presented evidence as well as witness in accordance with law. However after a few days the district authorities released them and announced that they had valid certificates," said one member of the vigilante team, which went to "arrest" 11 more Chinese migrants whom they accused of carrying out the assaults.

In Yagla, a group of villages in the same district, 85 km south east of Sog Dzong, the Tibetans went further and evicted all the Chinese migrants from the villages.

"Faced with such a critical and desperate situation, the people of Yagla [*gYag-la*] villages in Sog county, bearing in mind the interest of Tibetans, successfully managed to drive out such gangs of Chinese," said one of the villagers, who claimed to have made a point of avoiding personal violence. "Because we were resourceful in our methods there have been no deaths or injuries to anyone," he said.

On 3rd August 1993, troops, probably from the People's Armed Police, and Public Security officials were sent from Lhasa to surround the villages of Yagla. Road blocks were set up and the villages were surrounded, while villagers were checked by the officials. Sixty people from Sog county were detained in the initial checks, according to unconfirmed reports, among whom at least 11 were cadres. The names of 18 detainees are available from TIN.

Allegations of Forced Blood Extraction

Three accounts from Sog county state that Chinese traders were involved in collecting blood from local people and from domestic animals, with a view to selling the blood, presumably in mainland China. The report from Dri and Do districts, claiming to be from "a local person who has witnessed the developments personally," alleged that in those areas Chinese "gangs" were extracting blood by force.

"Since June 1992, these wandering gangs of Chinese have started ambushing unwary Tibetans to extract blood on the spot. In our three districts alone, there are over 100 people who had their blood extracted by such gangs. Many of them - herders, travellers, wood collectors, messengers, lone travellers whether male, female or child, are now emaciated and near to death," the Tibetan told TIN.

"Their mode of operation is either to hit the victim with a chemically treated dart (used to kill birds) or pounce together onto the victim and prick with a needle which renders the victim unconscious instantly. While the victim is lying unconscious they extract blood and disappear," claimed the Tibetan, who asked not to be named.

These allegations were not at first believed in the West because all previous accounts of forced blood extraction from Tibetans have referred only to officials who forced prisoners in Lhasa jails to give blood. There were no previous accounts of random or forced blood extraction outside prisons and these reports remain unconfirmed.

Other escapees from the region speak of Chinese traders paying locals to give blood, and of blood being taken from domestic animals and cattle. A nun from the neighbouring county of Biru who arrived in India in March 1994 said Chinese settlers were "draining blood from our horses". The Tibetans did not explain how the Chinese could have preserved the blood or transported it to a point of sale.

Settlement Constructed in Choekor

Tibetan refugees from the area reaching India this year confirm reports that temporary migration in the area has increased, and one report refers to a long term Chinese settlement being established.

"Many more Chinese have come to Biru in the last few years," said the 28 year old nun from Biru, the county adjoining Sog, on her arrival in India earlier this year. She described the Chinese as "merchants and people looking for minerals and precious metals, anything they can take from our land to sell," but did not describe fixed settlement in her area.

The report of a fixed Chinese settlement came from Choekor, a village 45 km southeast of Sog Dzong. A large complex of buildings has been constructed near the monastery of Choekor in Gyachen *xiang* in Sog county to house new Chinese settlers, according to an 18 year old nun who left the area just before the July 1993 demonstrations. 42 buildings had been built in her

Detainees from Sog county, August 1993

An unofficial report from Sog county named 19 Tibetans detained in August 1993 shortly after the protests, of whom 11 were government officials:

Government officials:

Tse so	[tshe bsod -probably an abbreviation for Tsering Sonam]
Tse Kyab	[tshe skyabs] -
Tenzin Phuntsog	[bstan-'dzin phun-tshog] a school teacher
Lothar	[blo-mthar] an official at the granary office
Dorje	[rdo-rje] an official at the local clinic
Trigyal	['khri-rgyal] an official at the or clinic
Nyinam	[nyi-nams] an official in the Agricultural and Nomadic Affairs Office
Tsering Yangkyi	[tshe-ring dbyangs-skid] a female official in the Agricultural and Nomadic Affairs Office
Tsering Dakyi	[tshe-ring bde-skid] a female official in the Agricultural and Nomadic Affairs Office
Tsega	[tshe-dg'a] an official in the Physical Education Department
Phuntsog	[phun-tshog] an official in the Tax Office

The report named eight other detainees detained in August 1993, probably farmers or local traders, all from Sog county:

Sonam Wangyal	[bsod-nam dbang-rgyal]
Wangyal	[dbang-rgyal]
Tsering Zangpo	[tshe-ring bzang-po]
Niga	[ni-dg'a]
Adar	[a-dar]
Phurbu Tsering	[phur-bu tshe-ring]
Sonam Dralha	[bsod-nam dgra-lha]
Khandro Lhamo	[mkha'a-'grol lha-mo] (female)

village, each with 12 rooms, suggesting a settlement of at least 1,000 people, she said.

"All the land is being taken by the Chinese settlers to build houses," said the nun, adding that the land had previously been used for farming. There was tension between the two communities, and the nun's father refused to sell yak meat to the settlers. Monks in her village would not let Chinese into the local monastery and had attempted to ban them from the village. In response one group of Chinese had seized some monks and held them for three days in a house, allegedly humiliating them and telling them not to criticise the Chinese.

"Many police live where the Chinese are, and it is very strict. They don't allow Tibetans to come and go, and restrict the movement of monks and nuns," she added. Before she left the Tibetans had held a meeting among themselves and decided to go against giving land and houses to the Chinese, she said. "They talk this way when the Chinese are not around," she added.

methods used by the Chinese hunters. "What especially outraged the Tibetans was that these Chinese adopt extremely cruel methods to ensnare the wildlife in steel traps. Domestic animals of the Tibetans in the area had got caught in these snares on many occasions, resulting in loss of limbs of the animals. The effect on the livelihood of the local Tibetans was considerable," said Pema Thinley of the exile Government's Information Department.

There is evidence of reluctance among Tibetans to kill animals, and a list of major tasks for Party workers for the winter of 1994-5, published by the *Tibet Daily* in October 1994, included "overcoming the idea of sparing animals from slaughter".²

Additional Note: there are unconfirmed reports of unrest in Sog xian in late January 1995, when further conflict is reported to have broken out between local Tibetans and Chinese migrants. No details about the alleged incident have been received.

Trapping

The exiles say that the resentment against Chinese traders in Sog county was exacerbated by the trapping

² Speech by Raidi at enlarged session of the TAR Party Committee, 13 October 1994, published 14th October in *Xizang Ribao* in *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts* 9th November 1994, FE/2148 G/12 [19].

Chinese Press on Nationality Affairs

Summaries of selected articles from the Chinese press on nationality affairs. The date of publication is given first, followed at the end of each summary by the date the article appeared in translation in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts.

27 September: The ninth conference for representatives of minority regions to discuss their work was held in Yinchuan recently, Xinhua reported. The five minority autonomous regions reported their experience on the work of people's congresses in making and enforcing laws. Xinhua particularly picked out the Lhasa city people's congress for opposing splittism during "incidents of disturbance". (17 October)

27 September: Great economic and social changes have taken place in minority areas as a result of state support and the reform policy of the last decade, Xinhua noted. Output and living standards have risen substantially since 1978. The "mindset" of minorities has also undergone tremendous changes, the agency observed. Inner Mongolia, Ningxia, Xinjiang, Tibet and Guangxi, plus Qinghai, Yunnan and Guizhou, have now become "frontal bastions" opening to the outside world instead of secluded, remote regions. Border trade volume has increased annually by over 100% on average. In 1993 alone, foreign exchange earned from tourism reached hundreds of millions of US dollars. These areas are also making great efforts to build up their infrastructure. (17 October)

28 September: A second national meeting to commend those outstanding in promoting nationality unity and progress opened, Beijing radio said. "All departments...should continue to give preferential treatment to and show concern for minority nationality areas", it declared. (17 October)

9 October: The number of middle schools for minority ethnic groups in Beijing has increased from two before 1985 to ten, primary schools from 16 in 1982 to 36, and kindergartens from 13 to 41, Xinhua reported. There is also more teacher training for minorities and more teachers have been sent to nationality areas. (17 October)

11 September: Ethnic minorities make up over five million people and take up 56% of the territory of Sichuan province, the Sichuan Daily reported. Economic development here is slower than the rest of Sichuan and other nationalities areas in other parts of China, it notes. The second problem, it points out, is the "destabilising factors" of religion, clashes over different customs and economic growth, and the role of hostile forces abroad who support "separatists". Work on religious affairs must be done well, the paper said, so that the party's policy of freedom of belief and of preventing criminal activities using religion are both implemented. (31 October)

3 December: Some 1,500 former nomad families in the southern Gansu TAP have moved into permanent dwellings, Xinhua reported. Since the late 1980s the local authorities have been encouraging local residents to build permanent houses by offering subsidies. Primary schools have also been built and about 60% of school age children enrolled. Some clinics have also been built. (13 December)

16 November: In the Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, in Gansu province, diversification is on the rise, Xinhua reported. More grassland has been planted, feed processing mills built and small hydroelectric power stations are under construction. (W 30 November)

ECONOMICS, DEVELOPMENT

Controversy over EU Project in Tibet

TIN News Update / 18 December, 1994

Controversy has flared in the British press over a major European Union development project in Tibet which human rights groups and aid experts say was planned largely in secrecy and without participation from local Tibetans. The project supports a Chinese plan to increase food supplies which could lead to future migration to Tibet, say the groups.

The EU's top officials strongly refuted the allegations, which were published today in *The Observer* and in a briefer report in *The Independent on Sunday*. Foreign aid organisations and experts working in Tibet had described the project in favourable terms, Peter Guilford, the Commission's spokesman for external economic relations, told *The Observer* yesterday. He named Save the Children UK and Médecins sans Frontières Belgium - amongst the only westerners in the world with development experience in the area - as

groups which had "participated" in the drafting of the project.

Both organisations denied the claims. "We have not participated in the drafting of the project", said a spokesperson for Médecins sans Frontières Belgium (MSF) last night. Save the Children Fund (SCF) issued a similar statement. "We have not participated in the formulation of the project", it said, adding that they had not yet evaluated the scheme. MSF said it had decided not to take part in the project.

Mr Guilford, speaking today on the BBC radio, insisted again that the organisations had been involved. "I find it a little hard to understand" the denials, he said.

A British expert, described by the Commission as a highly respected social scientist who had given a favourable assessment of the project, commented yesterday that he had not been involved in the project for two years and had not seen the final project documents.

"I have stated that there would need to be careful monitoring of any project's implementation to make sure that it did not become changed into a vehicle for a project centred on large-scale, irrigation-linked increased grain production for market, led by "top-down" planning," said Dr Graham Clarke, of Queen Elizabeth House, an international development centre in Oxford, who carried out the pre-feasibility study for the project.

The "Panam County Integrated Rural Development Project", due to go into operation in about six months time, was approved at a closed EU meeting on 19th October. The EU has pledged to give China 7.6 million ECUS for the project - more than it has ever spent on a rural project in China, and equivalent to a third of its annual aid budget in China.

The five-year project marks a new phase in EU policy towards Tibet, which is supposed to be linked to human rights improvements. Previous EU aid money in Tibet went to low-key projects carried out by western non-governmental organisations (NGOs) working on health and education, and cost less than half a million ECUS in total.

Panam is a county 200 km southwest of Lhasa, halfway between Shigatse and Gyantse, with a population of 38,000, of whom just over 15,000 are expected to benefit from the scheme. It includes some of Tibet's prime grain-producing valleys and aims to boost their yield by improving irrigation. The irrigation and grain-boosting elements of the project were proposed by Beijing and accepted by the EU, which added social elements to the project, so that it now includes water provision, education, afforestation and primary health care.

The Commission contends that the views of local Tibetans were considered in the devising of the project. "We have carried out household surveys which have revealed that there's been a large measure of local support. This is a project which has been planned with extreme sensitivity over a long period of time," a Commission spokesman told the BBC today. Sir Leon Brittan, the Commissioner for External Economic Relations, in a letter written in July, said that the project was "conceived with and for the Tibetan population".

Dr Clarke commented that full participatory planning had not been possible during his 1992 pre-feasibility mission, and a source close to the project told TIN that there had been no subsequent participation process. Sir Leon was visiting Beijing on a trade mission last week.

Grain To Increase by 78%

The controversy centres on the project's aim to boost grain yield in Panam as part of a Chinese plan to turn the 18 counties between Shigatse and Lhasa into what the Chinese call "the bread-basket of Tibet". Beijing's plan, a 10 year irrigation scheme in Tibet called the "One River, Two Streams" Project, is designed to make Tibet self-sufficient in grain and to replace the annual cost of trucking 40-50,000 tonnes of grain into the region from China. That grain is wheat, which is little eaten by Tibetans, leading to suspicions that the

schemes may end up supporting an increased Chinese presence in Tibetan towns.

The Commission cites 1992 figures which say that 32% of grain consumed by Tibetans in Panam was wheat - the rest was barley, the traditional Tibetan staple, rarely eaten by Chinese. 1991 statistics say that only 10% of the grain consumed in Panam was wheat.

The Commission in its Draft Financing Proposal for the Panam Project - a confidential document seen by TIN - stated of the proposed grain increase that "most of the 22 per cent increment would be wheat, which is particularly in demand in urban areas". The Commission is committed in principle not to encourage migration into Tibet, which is so far confined to urban areas, and the sentence was removed from the final version of the document, expected to be signed by EU Commissioner Manuel Marin with the Chinese Government later this month. At the same time the final document upped the target for increasing grain yield from 22% to 78%.

European private contractors who will carry out this project - and who can risk not getting paid if they fall short of project targets - will be under strong pressure to get Tibetans to use high-yield strains, fertiliser and chemical inputs, which if over-used can devastate soil nutrients in fragile areas. The EU is supplying 1,000 tons of phosphorous fertiliser as part of the project. One expert was quoted by *The Observer* as saying that "within a decade the land at Panam will become a desert if this project goes ahead." The expert refused to be named for fear of endangering funding for his work.

"The effect of such standard economic interventions on a sparsely populated high altitude ecosystem is not the same as on densely-populated irrigated lowlands", warned Graham Clarke in a recent paper on Tibet, calling for careful assessment of ecological impact. A Commission official told *The Observer* that no detailed environmental impact study was carried out for the project.

Panam county is already self-sufficient in grain, and has relatively advanced infrastructure and irrigation. The Chinese authorities announced in October that a 48-km electricity line will be laid to the area, raising further queries about their long-term plans for the county. Médecins sans Frontières said yesterday that it would not be participating in the project because "our priority is to work mainly in the poorest areas of Tibet".

Migration Risk

Many Tibetans believe that Beijing plans to encourage Chinese migration into the area, but Commission officials say that the project cannot increase migration because all the available land is already under cultivation and owned by Tibetans. At present only 60 Chinese live in the county, according to the Commission, but reports from the area say that there is an expanding community of migrant traders already buying up surplus products in the area. In the Lhasa area there is a well-documented increase in non-Tibetan market-gardeners, buying or leasing newly irrigated land from Tibetans.

One source close to the project claimed the Panam scheme plans to reclaim 1,000 hectares of currently unused land in the county, to which local Tibetans are unlikely to hold use rights. The claim is impossible to substantiate without access to the project reports, which have not been released.

The project is designed to cause a rapid shift from a subsistence economy to a cash-driven market economy, which will risk destroying traditional systems of barter trading and will tend to create dependency on cash crops, fertiliser and expensive machinery, making farmers vulnerable to price shifts and inflation pressures in mainland China. "The point is to make sure that people enter the cash economy on favourable terms," said a British anthropologist. "Tibetan farmers will enter the [market] economy on highly disadvantageous terms as one of its lowest income groups", added a western researcher in Tibet. Both refused to be named for fear of jeopardising funding they receive from the EC.

In the early 1980s leading Chinese economists openly proposed economic development of Tibet and neighbouring areas in order to facilitate population transfer: "If we ... estimate the potential for migration to Xinjiang, Qinghai, Gansu, and Tibet, those provinces and regions could absorb more than 100 million people. Hence the planned step-by-step migration to the border regions will be an imperative measure in the future," wrote the Chinese demographer Sun Jingzhi in 1981.³ "As a result of economic development of the western areas, their capacity to absorb a large number of migrants will be extremely high," he added.

Secrecy

Details of the project have been veiled in secrecy. The Commission told *The Observer* that the European parliament "had been kept regularly informed" but no copies of the proposal are known to have been made available by the Commission to the European Parliament or even to NGOs in Tibet. James Moorhouse, an MEP and co-President of the EP's intergroup on Tibet, said yesterday that he had not been told details about the project. "We are determined to safeguard conditionality, whereby aid is tied to human rights being properly observed", he said.

The Commission spokesman said the Dalai Lama was briefed on the project during his June 1994 visit to Brussels and approved it, but a Commission official said that the Dalai Lama was not briefed in detail and that he only gave approval "provided that the project benefited the Tibetan people".

A Tibetan who specialises in rural development said large projects like Panam would suffer from endemic corruption and leakage of funds. "If they really want to help Tibet they should spend the money on low-key local projects like village schools and clinics which Tibetans appreciate," he said.

3 Sun Jingzhi, *Economic Development: A Major Solution in China's Population*, Beijing, 1981, ed Liu Zhang, Song Jian. Song Jian is a member of the Party's Central Committee and Minister in charge of the State Science and Technical Commission.

Additional Note:

Panam Project Suspended by EC TIN News Update / 10 March, 1995

The EC announced on 31st January and confirmed on 22nd February that the Panam project has been suspended following expressions of concern from the press, members of the European Parliament, and interested organisations.

The suspension is temporary and will last until all the submissions to be made by the relevant organisations have been considered by the Commission, where a decision will be made by Leon Brittan, Commissioner for External Economic Relations.

The EU element of the project, which was formally approved by the EU's Council of Ministers on 11th November 1994 a month before the issue was first raised in the UK newspaper *The Observer*, has not begun in practice. The suspension affects the financial agreement, which was due to be formally signed by the EC Commissioners and China's Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation in January. It is not clear whether the tendering process - assessing proposals from the private contractors in Europe eager to carry out the work - will also be suspended.

The European Parliament's Committee on External Economic Relations was informed by the Commission at a meeting on 31st January that the signing of the financing agreement had been delayed, "due to representations from MEPs and others".

"The Commission is currently reflecting on the matter", said the statement, which was in reply to a question from James Moorhouse, a British MEP.

On 22nd February Simon Nuttall, Director responsible for Relations with Far Eastern Countries in the EC's Department of External Economic Relations, and head of the section of the EC which developed the project, gave more details to the Parliament. He told a meeting of the Parliament's Committee on Development and Co-operation that the signing of the financial agreement had been delayed and that no steps have so far been taken to finalise the text or to approach the Chinese.

Mr Nuttall, who has since retired, defended the project and the collaboration with the Chinese authorities, pointing out that no project could be carried out in Tibet without going through the Chinese administration. He noted that the EC had, after difficult negotiations, added significant elements to the original Chinese proposal for Panam, including training for Tibetans, a primary education project, and a social welfare element.

Defending his team against the charge that there had been insufficient consultation, Mr Nuttall said that there had been a number of contacts with local Tibetans without Chinese present, and said that they had approved of the project. Sir Leon Brittan, in an earlier written statement to the Parliament, had said that "many interviews were carried out with the inhabitants in an open atmosphere and they have clearly shown a strong interest in the project". But Mr Nuttall informed

the EP Development Committee that no records had been kept of these conversations because of the dangers to Tibetans.

A British MEP, Tony Cunningham, described this consultation process as laughable, and Glenys Kinnock, who had sponsored the resolution on Panam in the European Parliament, called the process haphazard and inadequate. The two MEPs joined other members of the committee in calling for immediate suspension of the project.

Mr Nuttall told the Committee that the EC recognised that with respect to consultation with NGOs its performance had been inadequate, and said that there were lessons to be learnt from this for the future. He agreed that surplus grain produced as a result of the project would be bought by Chinese coming into the region, but said that this had to be balanced against the benefits which the project would bring to Tibetans. The project had allocated funds for 166 person-months to be used by Western monitoring staff, and the Commission was confident that it could find some experts who are able to speak Tibetan and Chinese, said Mr Nuttall.

Several members of the committee, including two MEPs from Germany, Mrs Lissy Groener and Wilfried Telkaemper, emphasised the political aspects of the decision. "We should not be paying with our money for human rights violations", said Mrs Groener. The project risked legitimising the Chinese presence in Tibet and threatened the effective autonomy of the Tibetan people, said Mrs Kinnock. The draft resolution proposed by Mrs Kinnock calls for EU development projects in Tibet to be carried out through non-governmental organisations and not in the form of bilateral aid.

Concern has also been expressed by at least one of the member states of the EU. The Panam project, originally passed by the Asia-Latin America Committee of the EU in October last year, has now been placed again on the agenda of the Committee, and the British government has asked for an environmental impact assessment to be carried out. British officials have written to the Commission "requesting that the EC's support be linked much more directly to the Chinese authorities' acceptance of a condition that it must be the local Tibetans who benefit from the project", Lynda Chalker, Britain's Minister for Overseas Development, said on 12th January in a letter to the British parliamentarian David Ennals.

The EC Project in Tibet: A Survey of Concerns Tibet Information Network, December 1994

The European Union (EU) decided at a meeting of its Asia-Latin America Committee on 19th October 1994 to contribute 7.6 million ECU to a development project located in a small rural county called Panam, situated near Shigatse in central Tibet. It is the first direct EU project in central Tibet (an area referred to by the Chinese as TAR) as well as the first major bilateral project in the area.

In the absence of publicly available information about this project, TIN, an independent research organisation, sought the views of a number of experts and

consultants who had experience in this field. They expressed a number of significant reservations about the applicability of this project to the Tibetan situation. We also sought the opinions of Commission officials in Brussels. They would not supply any documentation or copies of reports but they responded very helpfully to our questions.

This paper is a summary of the concerns expressed by the experts we spoke to about this project. Unfortunately we have not had access to EU documents and are able to give only a rough indication of the position of the Commission on these issues. We regret any resulting omissions or misrepresentations. 14 principal areas of concern were indicated:

Concerns about Aims and Impact on Tibetans

- Lack of Participation by Local Tibetans in the Design of the Project
- Lack of Support for Traditional Practices
- Introduction of New Economic System to the Area
- Failure to Consider Impact on Women of Changed Farming Practices

Environmental Concerns

- Introduction of Non-indigenous Crops/Loss of Biodiversity
- Failure to Carry out an Environmental Impact Study

Political Concerns

- Acceding to State not Local Objectives
- Acceding to Beijing's Identification of the Project Site
- Risk of Encouraging Chinese Migration
- Political Insensitivity of the Scale of the Project

Methodological Concerns

- Failure to Implement the Project through NGOs
- Failure to Assess Previous Project Failures in Tibet
- Lack of Participation by Experts on Tibet
- Secrecy and Lack of Accountability

In summary, the principal concerns expressed to TIN were that there are no clear indications that the project was born out of the wishes of local Tibetans, or that their long-term interests have been addressed, or that they will have any real say in the design or decision-making processes of the project. The EU says that there was an adequate participation process which involved Tibetans, and that Tibetans are specified as the immediate beneficiaries of the project.

Other concerns focussed on the developmental criteria of the project, which (it was argued) were set by the Chinese authorities or were assessed according to principles that are appropriate to China's larger political needs but not of proven value to the political, socio-economic and environmental needs or conditions prevailing in Tibet. These concerns are discussed in more detail below. The experts consulted by TIN asked not to be named.

Introduction

The aim of the Panam project is to increase food production for the region and to increase the incomes of Tibetan farmers in the area through an integrated rural development programme. The programme will involve improving irrigation, replanting pastures, introducing high yield crops, cropping fallow land, increasing

livestock production and planting fast-growing trees for wind breaks and firewood.

The project will also include a number of "social" items which address the provision of primary education, health, sanitation and drinking water for the 1450 families living in the project area. The EU contribution, which represents a third of the estimated total costs of the project, will cover the foreign exchange costs of technical assistance, overseas training, vehicles and supplies, as well as a part of the social component.

The project has been designed by a group of consultants together with EU officials based in Beijing and Brussels. At the time the decision was taken by the EU the findings and proposals made by this group had not been made public.

Concerns about Aims and Impact of the Project on Tibetans

1. Lack of Participation by Local Tibetans in the Design of the Project

The project is a significant improvement on analogous projects in China in that it designates Tibetans to be its specific beneficiaries. This designation signals the EU's desire to assist Tibetans specifically by alleviating the deep rural poverty in which they live.

However, despite this aim, no evidence has been provided of anything more than a minor involvement of local Tibetans in the evolution of the project or in its decision-making process. Such questioning as there was of local Tibetans by EU officials appears to have been conducted at random and at a very early stage in the evaluation of the project. No EU consultants speak Tibetan, as far as is known and no systematic participatory exercise is known to have taken place.

The EU says "a considerable number of interviews" showed "a strong interest for the project". It notes that "the proposals were informally reviewed with Mr Wang Chuk Nam Gyal of the Tibetan Development Fund at Lhasa" and that a "vice-chairman of the Tibet Regional Government" approved the project.

However, these officials are not in a position to speak freely, and are not representative of popular or local wishes. Because of the totalitarian nature of the Chinese regime in Tibet, ordinary Tibetans are also not in a position to express dissenting views. It would also be difficult to inform Tibetans of the likely long-term impact of the project or to offer them alternative proposals for consideration. Ensuring their full and free participation, based on informed understanding of the proposal, would be a difficult and sensitive task. EU officials agreed with this and say that they considered that such a consultation exercise would be impracticable in the political circumstances prevailing in Tibet.

The EU wishes to see Tibetan involvement in the on-going assessment of the project. For example, the project provides for the creation of "farmers' associations for on-farm water management and other activities". It also includes provision for training programmes.

However, the scope of that training, and when it will occur, does not appear to have been worked out in detail. Experience gained from a similar project ("Project 3357") run by the World Food Programme (WFP) in Central Tibet shows that training of local Tibetans should be done before the implementation of a project. The project otherwise attracts the importation of Chinese experts to the region, as has happened with the WFP project. The EU will be largely powerless to arrange significant Tibetan involvement in the project design and assessment and will provide training, if any, after the project is already under way.

Concern: Sir Leon Brittan, the EU Commissioner for External Economic Relations, has written that the project "has been conceived with and for the Tibetan population". Yet there is no evidence of local Tibetans having been involved in a systematic way in the inception or design of the project.

2. Lack of Support for Traditional Practices

The project plans to intervene in the existing production and social system by introducing methods which have not been proven to be sustainable or viable in the Tibetan context. Specifically it seeks to introduce Western and Chinese modes of agricultural high-yield production, a Western medical programme, and a Chinese educational system. It does not appear to have carried out independent test programmes to assess their long-term sustainability or their social and cultural impact in the area.

For example, the project does not consider the potential use of local Tibetan medical expertise, despite the high standing with which Tibetan medicine is held even in China. Nor does it build on the traditional mode of rural educational provision in Tibet, which is done through the network of monasteries and nunneries, and which would provide easy access to local receptivity to increased education as well as to an existing resource of pedagogic knowledge and tradition. A number of NGO-run development projects in Tibet are operating successfully through using traditional educational methods.

The Panam project does not exploit traditional Tibetan agricultural methods of crop rotation, which have meant that, despite harsh climactic conditions and short growing seasons, farmers in this part of Tibet have generally managed to prosper. The loss of indigenous agricultural knowledge, innovations and practices will be irreplaceable. It also does not seek to enhance local traditions of petty commodity production, such as handicraft manufacture, which could be assisted and improved.

Most developmentalists, including those based in Tibet, maintain that imposing alien production methods can be counter-productive if they are not known to be socially or culturally acceptable, and that maximising the use of traditional techniques and approaches often leads to enhanced local involvement and support in development.

TIN does not know the views of the EU on this question.

Concerns: The project proposes new and alien approaches to agriculture and medicine which are of unproven sustainability in the area; it does not propose the enhancement of traditional Tibetan methods of agriculture and pastoralism or support traditional Tibetan forms of medicine, education or petty commodity production.

3. Introduction of New Economic System to the Area

The project proposes a radical shift from the existing subsistence system of Tibetan agriculture in the area to a market-orientated system. The existing trading system, which is largely conducted through barter, will be replaced by a cash system which, initially at least, will be heavily reliant on the availability of credit. The new system will be based on the sale of two types of crop - cash crops and feed crops. Downstream markets will develop in related services, such as transport, and it is likely that the project will also increase or create a capital value for land.

It is argued that dramatic shifts from a subsistence system to a market-orientated system often have calamitous effects on rural communities. A market system (quite apart from the aims of the project itself) will encourage greater dependence on monoculture, thereby increasing vulnerability to natural disasters. In addition, it will expose farmers to price fluctuations, inflation (currently around 30%) and to competition from China's relatively modernised farming sector. Credit funding, which will be a major component of the adoption of the new agricultural practices, as well as vital for the development of activities for the commercialisation of surpluses, will be under the control of the People's Bank of China, which normally requires a 30% cash contribution from the borrower. Generally, therefore, likely impact of the introduction of a market system on Tibetan farmers will be to make them less self-sufficient and more dependent on Chinese authorities for loans and equipment. At least one expert has argued that in several areas Tibetans already exposed to the market system have shown a marked preference to remain with their traditional system.

The EU argues that the introduction of a market economy is part of Chinese national policy and in any case is certain to affect Tibetans in the near future. The EU should not "stand aloof" from this process. It will be better for them if they have had some preparation and support from outside developmentalists than leaving them exposed to raw market impact. The EU has provided for extensive on-site monitoring by western experts during the 5 year project, amounting to 166 person-months. The EU notes in its reports that the People's Bank of China was not co-operative and acknowledges that this represents a threat to the success of the project.

Concerns: There is no evidence that any study has been done to assess the long-term advantage to Tibetans of a shift to a cash-based market system. Tibetans, who will need for the first time to deal with market-regulated pricing, obtaining credit, etc., are one of China's lowest income groups and are likely to enter the cash economy on disadvantageous and highly vulnerable terms.

4. Failure to Consider the Gender Implications of Changed Farming Practices

The project is based on the assumption that the increased yields will be achieved through improved irrigation, increased acreage and new varieties of seed. It does not advocate the introduction of new or additional workers, which would be socially disruptive. It assumes that local Tibetans will produce and handle an increase of 5,700 tonnes of grain per annum.

The EU says that it will introduce a certain amount of mechanisation to offset the increased labour demands. However, much of the increase in labour requirements under the project will be done by women, since in Tibet agricultural tasks are divided strictly by gender, with women being responsible for back-breaking tasks such as irrigation and milling. It is not clear if all women's tasks are mechanisable.

The EU notes that in its social aspects the project should alleviate the burden on women, through the provision of solar-powered cookers, an improved supply of drinking water and the provision of primary health care and education for their children.

Concern: The project may increase the agricultural tasks placed on men and women unequally.

Environmental Concerns

5. Introduction of Non-indigenous Crops/Loss of Biodiversity

The main objective of the proposal is to increase grain yield. This in accord with Government policy which stated in its annual work report, "In accordance with market demand, we will revamp the crop and plant cultivation structure while ensuring steady increases in grain output" (Gyaltsen Norbu, TAR Chairman 20 May 1994). It is believed that the main emphasis will be on wheat production.

The staple food product in Tibet is barley, which accounted in 1991 for about 78% of grain production in the project area. Wheat, which accounted in 1991 for only 4.69% of grain production in the area, is consumed in large quantities by Chinese, to a lesser degree by urban Tibetans and very little by rural Tibetans. There is no grain shortage in the county: 11.9% of wheat produced in Panam was surplus in 1992, and 34.1% of barley. It is therefore not clear what immediate gain besides cash Tibetans would make by producing more grain, let alone wheat. The reports say that 20,000 tons of wheat and 30,000 tons of rice are imported into the TAR each year, probably at prices heavily subsidised by the Chinese government. These imports benefit in particular the Chinese population in Tibet, and increased wheat production is also likely to benefit the same sector.

The project will lead to the substitution of highland barley varieties, which have evolved to suit the specific ecological conditions, with high-yielding monocultures, resulting in a loss of biodiversity and an increased risk

of crop destruction by pests. Furthermore, the sustainability of the increased grain output at Tibet's high altitudes is untested.

In addition, it is intended that improved sheep breeds will be introduced on a limited scale in an attempt to increase meat and wool production, also leading to a possible reduction in biodiversity.

The EU says that Tibetans will be free to choose to grow whichever grain they choose. Such a freedom does not appear to have been allowed for in the targets described by the reports.

Concerns: The introduction of high-yielding monocultures will lead to a loss of biodiversity and will make the area more vulnerable to pests. The purpose of creating a wheat surplus is unclear, since the area is already produces surplus grain, and wheat is not a major Tibetan foodstuff. The project threatens to place pressure on Tibetans to produce wheat, in response to urban and official demands rather than local needs.

6. Lack of an Environmental Impact Study

Tibet has a fragile eco-system and the highland areas of Panam are already suffering from deforestation and overgrazing.

EU officials say that no negative environmental impacts are expected. It is agreed by all parties that certain environmental benefits can be expected to accrue from the proposals for reforestation and river stabilisation. In addition, by concentrating farming, including livestock grazing, in valley bottoms, the project will reduce the pressure from grazing on the fragile and easily erodible hillsides.

However, it is unlikely that the increased yields in grain can be sustained without significant reliance on pesticides (which Tibetans, as Buddhists, traditionally avoid) and chemical fertilisers. Moreover, the traditional Tibetan agricultural practice of rotating crops and leaving fields fallow will disappear as part of the project's plan to increase yields, resulting in a deterioration in soil quality and a depletion of natural resources. Increased irrigation will also have an impact on the water table and, possibly, long term water supply. The impact on the delicate high-altitude environment of secondary factors, such as increased mechanisation, fuel consumption, power generation, construction, demographic change, commercialisation, and increased transport, have also not been studied, and no environmental audit has been built into the project.

Concerns: The EU has not carried out an environmental impact study or arranged for an environmental audit of the project, which is likely to have negative as well as positive environmental impacts. Furthermore, the five year time span of the EU's involvement in the project is too short a period over which to monitor environmental change effectively.

Political Concerns

7. Acceding to State not Local Objectives

The Panam project is a key component of a large-scale Chinese state plan by which the larger 18 county areas, including Panam, have been "designated as the bread basket of the autonomous region", according to the Chinese publications. The authorities announced of the area that "a comprehensive agricultural development program is now being initiated ... making it a major production centre of commodity grain, vegetables and foodstuffs, textiles and light industry" (Xinhua news agency, 17th June 1994).

The genesis of the project out of Chinese macro-economic planning necessitates that a closer-than-normal scrutiny be paid to the question of whether it will bring long-term local benefits. The objectives of the Chinese proposal are orientated towards boosting immediate output rather than to long-term sustainability, as is reflected in the emphasis on quantitative measures of output rather than indicators of the quality of development.

The EU recognises that Chinese proposals are top down and has therefore insisted on major modifications to the original proposal, namely the addition of a substantial social infrastructure component.

The project still remains a classic market-led agricultural intervention based on notions of maximising the extraction of resources. In accepting this project, the EU appears to be acceding to the Chinese state's aspirations and to outmoded developmental concepts. The project apart from its social elements does not reflect local needs or demands.

Concerns: The project was proposed by the Chinese authorities in Beijing and is part of a state plan to create a major rural production industry in the area. This project is geared to national not local needs.

8. Acceding to Beijing's Identification of the Project Site

The project site was not identified as a result of an independent assessment or a local initiative. Panam is a relatively prosperous area, as compared to other areas in central Tibet, being self-sufficient in food production and already having some basic infrastructure. Many areas in central Tibet are much poorer and are therefore more obvious candidates for overseas funding. The site has special value for the Chinese and local authorities as part of their stated plan to boost regional production and to turn the rural Tibetan economy into a market-driven system.

EU officials have pointed out that the mere fact that the site was suggested by the Chinese should not condemn it, not least because the Commission selected the project out of several suggested and because all the preparatory work was carried out by European, not Chinese, experts. EU officials note that the prosperity of the Panam region is relative only and that it still contains deep rural poverty. They ask whether the EU better serves the interests of the Tibetan population by holding itself aloof or by supporting aid projects which,

although identified by the Chinese, will bring direct benefits to them.

Concerns: The Panam project is not addressing the most serious poverty-stricken areas in the region and appears to have been selected because of Chinese state objectives of intensifying and monetizing agricultural production rather than the relief of poverty. It would appear that the good intentions of the EU are being misdirected by the Chinese authorities in the choice of the project site.

9. Risk of Encouraging Chinese Migration

Tibetans argue that Chinese migration into central Tibet is currently being encouraged discreetly by the authorities for political reasons. EU diplomats who have visited Tibet have endorsed this opinion in their reports. The question of encouraged migration is currently one of the most sensitive political issues in Tibet.

The only previous large-scale development project in Tibet, the WFP's "3357" project, has been accused locally of indirectly encouraging Chinese migration into Tibet. It is alleged that Chinese unskilled labour as well as skilled labour was used on the WFP project and that the unskilled labour was moved or replaced before foreign inspections took place.

There are already extensive reports of itinerant Chinese and Hui (Chinese Muslim) traders moving into the Shigatse-Gyantse area, which includes Panam, seeking trade opportunities. This trend is likely to increase. Tibetans are usually at a disadvantage in transactions with Chinese traders and are prone to lose assets to cash purchasers. Tibetan-Chinese conflict over trade disputes is escalating rapidly and has led to a number of serious incidents.

In addition, the project is likely to create a capital value for the land, making the Tibetans vulnerable to being bought out during or after the project.

The project will bring more than 1,000 hectares of uncultivated land into cultivation. It is likely that no property or user rights attach to this land at the moment. Once it is cultivated it will create an opportunity for the leasing of such land to cash-rich purchasers, who in other areas of central Tibet have almost always been new Chinese migrants seeking land for intensive vegetable production and market gardening.

Chinese academic documents on the possibility of mass migration into Tibet say explicitly that such a policy is contingent on improving local food supply. The emphasis in the Panam project documents on increasing grain, specifically wheat, for urban consumption means that the project appears to be designed partly to provide the infrastructure for further migration into urban areas.

EU officials say that the Panam project takes great care to designate Tibetans as its primary beneficiaries. They note that there are at present only about 60 non-Tibetans living in the project area. They say that the project will not directly facilitate long-term migration by Chinese from outside the region, although it could do so indirectly.

Concern: The EU project could indirectly encourage Chinese migration into the TAR and could exacerbate relations between Tibetans and non-Tibetan migrants attracted by the project.

10. Political Insensitivity of the Scale of the Project

The project is the largest rural project the EU has contributed to in China, the second largest to take place in central Tibet and the first in Tibet that the EU has participated in directly. It is a macro-project which involves very high costs for a relatively small area.

The primary beneficiaries of the project are 1,450 families, just over 15,000 people, with 3,710 other families expected to benefit indirectly. This is a relatively small number of people for a major project.

Tibetans consulted about the project by TIN say that corruption is particularly hard to avoid in larger projects of this kind and that they expect very high rates of leakage through corruption, as well as through administrative costs.

Politically, large projects are highly controversial because of the significant propaganda advantage they offer to the Chinese government. The intervention of the EU in this form will be presented by the Chinese as a statement of unequivocal support for the Chinese claim in the on-going controversy over Tibet.

Other development organisations working in Tibet, notably Rokpa, have preferred micro-projects because they are less controversial politically. Can they can also be monitored more easily. Such projects appear to enjoy much greater local support due to the fact that such organisations consult widely with different interest groups and tend to use and enhance indigenous practices and institutions.

EU officials say that they wanted to assist development in Tibet and were encouraged to do so by the European Parliament, the Dalai Lama and others. The reasons why they decided to do it in the form of a direct large scale project are not known.

Concerns: The project involves great expense in a form which is likely to lead to high overheads and rates of leakage. The decision to opt for a large-size project offers major propaganda opportunities for the Chinese authorities and is politically insensitive in a region where the Chinese administration and the settlement of Chinese is widely opposed.

Methodology: Concerns about the Way the Project was Conceived

11. Failure to Assess Previous Project Failures in Tibet

There have been a number of development projects in Tibet, some of which are still continuing. These include the UN's WFP project, known as the "3357" project; medical projects by the Swiss Red Cross and the Belgian section of Medecins sans Frontiers; educational projects by the UK-based Save the Children Fund;

educational and medical projects by the UK-based organisation Rokpa; and others.

Some projects have been suspended or have partially failed, including the 3357 project and a proposal by the UK organisation Health Unlimited. The partial suspension of the 3357 project - the largest project so far in central Tibet - has been controversial, and relates reportedly to a lack of technical co-operation from the Chinese side. It took place amidst allegations that the project had benefited or attracted migrant Chinese. There has been widespread concern about this project failure. There is no sign of a study of its causes having been made by the EU or of the achievements of other developmental organisations being assessed.

The EU says it has allocated considerably more resources than the WFP did to training and monitoring. It has said repeatedly that SCF and MSF participated in the design of its project, a contention that has been denied by the two organisations.

Concern: The project appears to have been devised without adequate consideration of the successes and failures of previous development efforts in Tibet and is therefore liable to repeat some of those failures.

12. Failure to Implement the Project through NGOs

The EU has a long tradition of using NGOs (non-governmental organisations) to implement development projects in politically sensitive areas, or in areas with low population density or fragile environments. It had already supported two projects in Tibet through NGOs, representing aid of about half a million ECU. NGOs are regularly used by the EU for small and medium sized projects.

The Panam project has become so large that it cannot be operated by NGOs alone, although they are the only foreign agencies with Tibetan expertise. The project was reportedly enlarged at the EU's own request. A project could have been devised which consisted of smaller units capable of being carried out by NGOs. This would have been less controversial politically and would probably have had significant operational advantages.

Concern: The EU's decision not to channel funds through NGOs already working in Tibet is unfortunate given the politically sensitive situation in Tibet.

13. Lack of Participation by Experts on Tibet

The project has been designed by a team of Western development consultants, refined by experts based at the EU offices in Beijing and Brussels and finally assessed by a committee of European government officials in Brussels.

The developmental, environmental and cultural situation in China, where agriculture is mainly on low-land plains, is vastly different from the situation in Tibet. Expertise in China or other low-land areas is not necessarily transferable to Tibet. Western developmentalists and anthropologists with knowledge of the conditions in Tibet do not appear to have been consulted in the project design process and nor do the Western NGOs working in Tibet.

The EU says that MSF and SCF participated in the design of the project, and that its main consultant on this project has relevant expertise. UK Save The Children Fund shared its experience of educational programmes in Tibet with EU officials.

Concern: The project appears to have been designed and assessed mainly by people without knowledge of Tibet or on-the-ground experience of development projects in Tibet.

14. Secrecy and Lack of Accountability

Details of the project were kept secret except for minimal information until it had been approved by the EU's Asia-Latin American Committee in October 1994. The Commission did not make the project reports available either to the European Parliament or other interested parties until about two months after this date. The European Parliament was therefore not able to debate the proposal, and representatives of Tibetans who are outside Tibet, and thus able to speak freely, were unable to give informed comment, until after decisions had been made. Information was made available only after the London-based newspaper, *The Observer*, published extensive information about the project.

EU officials had answered questions received from MEPs. Some EU officials claim that the Dalai Lama had approved the project, but other officials note that his approval was conditional on the benefit going to Tibetans, and add that he had been given no more than a two page briefing on the project. EU officials also say that the terms of the project can still be modified and negotiated.

Concern: Open monitoring and assessment of the project has not been allowed on behalf of the public who are paying for it, and both the design and assessment of the project have remained in the hands of the executive.

Oil Wells in Tibet

Oil deposits have been discovered for the first time in Central Tibet, according to the Chinese authorities. Two of three oil wells drilled by prospecting teams last autumn revealed deposits of both oil and natural gas, according to Zhongguo Xinwen She, a semi-official news agency on 25th November 1994.

The news agency described the finds as "promising" and said that "exploration feasibility hearings" would now be held in the region, apparently to assess the commercial viability of the wells.

A later report identified the site of the oil discovery as teh "Tibetan Number One Oil Well" in "Loinbo-la" - possibly a Chinese rendering of Nongpo-la - without giving further details. An unofficial Tibetan source in Lhasa named the site as Rhong Hu, in Nagchu prefecture, northeast of Yangpachen and Lhasa. "Moreover, construction of three other wells in the basin has been started," said Xinhua on 18th August 1994.

Chinese prospecting teams from Beijing's Ministry of Geology and Mineral Resources have been exploring Tibet for oil since at least 1990. The Chinese authorities announced in May 1992 that they were investing 200 million yuan in oil and natural gas exploration in the Tibet Autonomous Region as part of the five year plan due to end in 1995; in fact the exploration teams had already begun their work in the Tibet Autonomous Region two years earlier. In the previous 5-year plan, which ran from 1986 to 1990, the Ministry of Geology and Mineral Resources had invested only 30 million yuan in 104 prospecting projects in China, according to a 1992 Reuters report, suggesting a steep increase in China's attempts to supply its own energy and mineral needs.

The 1992 announcement said that prospecting would focus on what the Chinese call the "Yangbajain Basin area of northern Tibet", a large stretch of sparsely inhabited nomadic terrain stretching from Nagchu to Yangpachen, 90km north of Lhasa. Tibetans have been reporting the presence of large mines in the area for several years, but so far the Chinese authorities have not released details of mine workings in the area.

The Chinese say that the northern part of the Tibetan plateau includes "a wide distribution of marine sediment from the Mesozoic era" and depths of over 10,000 metres of uncorrupted sedimentary rocks. By using remote sensing techniques China has identified but has not named a number of oil-bearing structures in the Tibet, as well as in Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang, according to Xinhua on 16th August 1994.

"There is no particular reason why significant oil deposits should not occur in Tibet itself - it appears that the area was a sea basin where oil deposits may well have accumulated, before being uplifted relatively undisturbed when India collided with Asia to form the Himalayas," said Peter Wilson, a London-based oil expert. The viability of any find in Tibet largely depends on whether the rocks are split by complex fault-lines, and on whether the roads and infrastructure in the area are well enough developed to make oil production worthwhile.

Exploration in Tibet reflects China's intensified efforts to find oil, especially in its western regions, in response to the increasing demands of its economic development.

China's Increasing Oil Needs

China has an annual crude oil output of over 140 million tons and is the world's fifth largest oil-producing country. But its overall domestic oil output has been slowing down, with a increase in 1994 over the previous year of less than two per cent, according to Wang Tao, president of the China National Petroleum Corporation.

In 1993, the Sino Chemical Import and Export Corporation imported more than 10 mln tons of petroleum products, sharing 16% of the domestic demand, and imported 15m tons of oil in 1993 compared with 12.3m tons in 1992. Oil exports stood at 19m tons, 1.7m tons less than that in 1992. "Experts predict China's demand for crude oil eventually

will exceed planned production," said *China Daily* in June 1994.

China's increasing need for oil has meant that its oil imports began to exceed its oil exports for the first time in 1994. "Now it seems that our oil supply will fall short of the increasing domestic demand", Wang said, as reported by Xinhua news agency on 1st December 1994 (BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 3rd December 1994). Wang invited Kuwait's oil minister to Beijing in November 1994 and discussed plans for China to import oil from Kuwait. "China constitutes a potentially huge market for the oil-rich Kuwaitis", Wang told Xinhua.

In response to the slowing down of oil production in the eastern areas the Chinese have been trying to shift exploitation and development to the western areas of China, according to a policy known as "stabilizing production in the eastern region and developing the western region" and announced by Wang Tao in April 1991.

There are major 13 oil fields in eastern and central China including as Daqing in Heilongjiang Province, Shengli in Shandong Province and Zhongyuan in Henan Province.

Xinjiang, the region to the north of Tibet, has increased its oil prospecting and production, especially in the three areas of Junggar, Tarim and Turpan-Hami, and is now China's leading oil production base. Chinese specialists say the Tarim basin alone could have oil reserves approaching 20.5 billion tons, equivalent to the oil found so far in the North Sea.

Oil in Qinghai

In Qinghai construction of an oil refinery in Golmud with a capacity of 1 million tons began on 1st August 1991. Golmud, in western Qinghai, is on the main road from Nagchu and provides easy relatively direct to Yangpachen.

The refinery, which was expected to cost 440 million yuan, was expected to produce 409,700 tons of petrol, 337,700 tons of diesel fuel and 5,000 tons of paraffin annually, as well as 23,400 tons of propylene and 36,300 tons of liquefied gas, according to a Xinhua article on 3rd August 1991.

By 1994, 56 oil fields had been identified in the basin and had been shown to have deposits of 200 mln tons, according to *China Daily* in June 1994. It said that six natural gas fields had been confirmed, with anticipated natural gas deposits of around 30 billion square metres.

The Golmud refinery was the third of three crude oil projects in the Tsaidam basin in Qinghai in 1991. The others were a crude oil production base in Huatugou, which has an annual output of over 1 million tons, and a 435 km pipeline from Huatugou to Golmud. A 1 billion cubic metre natural gas field was also planned for development in the eastern sector of the Tsaidam basin.

Three years later Jiang Wen, deputy director of the refinery, said that the Golmud refinery has found it hard to gain a share of the domestic oil market, which is

flooded with overseas petroleum products, according to *China Daily*. The coastal areas were previously allowed to import crude oil from abroad, but refined petroleum products were supposed to be sold overseas. "In reality, many of those refined products sneaked into the domestic market, posing a threat to Chinese petroleum firms," Jiang told the newspaper.

But Jiang was expected an upturn in demand from Tibet, and claimed that the Tibet region would need 200,000 tons of petroleum by the end of 1995. Demand in Qinghai is expected to be 250,000 tons during the same period, according to a *China Daily* article on 10th June 1994.

Qinghai is now opening some parts of the Tsaidam Basin to foreign investors and prospectors, following the example of Xinjiang, which opened the Tarim basin to foreign money in 1993. Three ridges - Dafeng, Nanyi and Yiliping - had been put on the international market by the provincial administration to invite tenders for drilling.

However infrastructure is weak in Qinghai and domestic sales, despite the high demand, may be less attractive to investors because prices of petrol and petroleum products in China are still kept artificially low by strict government controls.

The newspaper profiled a previously unemployed Chinese worker called Yu, who was now earning 900 yuan (\$106) a month - several times the average income in China - working in the "dull and isolated world" of the Qinghai oil-field. "Qinghai's oil fields have lured hundreds and thousands of workers just like Yu from elsewhere," said the paper.

Oil in Xinjiang: Chinese Press reports

Summary of selected articles on oil production in Xinjiang. Dates in brackets show when the article was published in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts.

31 August: Oilfield in the Turpan-Hami basin, in eastern Xinjiang, is under construction, Xinhua reported. Two others in the region went into operating in 1991 and 1994, but these are smaller. (W 2 November)

13 November: A "high-yielding" oil well with daily output of 107.44 cu.m. of crude and 18,332 cu.m. of natural gas has "recently" been drilled in the Tarim basin, Xinhua reported. The well, in Kashi prefecture's Bachu county, was dug by North China Petroleum and Geological Bureau. (W 23 November)

22 November: A large-scale oil exploitation campaign was launched in the late 1980s in the three basins of Tarim, Junggar and Toha, a combined area of 740,000 sq. km., Xinhua reported. So far four oil towns have been built in Korla, Fukang, Shanshan and Hami counties and construction of key petrochemical works are in full swing. State funds have been spent on laying 4,000 km of roads and 1,800 km of oil pipelines. Up to date equipment has been installed. (W 30 November)

24 November: Four new oil fields have been completed and will increase the region's production capacity in 1995 by 5.5 million tons to over 17m tons, Xinhua

reported. The four new fields are the Tazhong, in the Tarim basin, Qiuling in Shanshan county, in Turpan-Hami basin, and Mabei and Shixi in the Junggar basin. Total investment will be 6.9 billion yuan. (W 30 November)

Chinese Press on Agriculture, Economy and Development

Summaries of selected articles from the Chinese press on the economy and on development in Tibet. The date of publication is given first, followed at the end of each summary by the date the article appeared in translation in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts; "W" indicates the source is the SWB's Weekly Economic Supplement.

Agriculture and Forestry

2 November: the Qinghai-Tibet plateau covers 119 million hectares of grassland, including 97.8 million hectares available for animal breeding. At present the plateau has nearly 45 million head of yaks, cattle and sheep. (W 9 November)

2 November: Tibet and Qinghai have expanded investment in animal husbandry since 1985 by improving the grassland and diversifying the economy, Xinhua reported. Qinghai spent 270 million yuan fencing and improving grassland and building livestock sheds, and helping herdsmen to settle. In Tibet in 1984 began to improve grassland and allot collectively owned livestock to individual families on contract. (7 November)

13 November: Conditions on the Qinghai-Tibet plateau have improved, Xinhua reported. Annual per capita income in pastoral areas of the Tanggula ranges averages 1,050 yuan in the west and 650 yuan in the east, a rise of 250 and 140 yuan respectively over those in farming and pastoral areas. Qinghai has invested 270 million yuan in pastoral areas. Hence the survival rate of animals has risen. (23 November)

1 December: Tibet's grain yields are expected to stay the same as last year's despite a drop in sown area and natural disasters, Xinhua reported. The rapeseed growing area rose to 18,700 hectares this year from 12,000 hectares last year, bringing 22% more crop. Tibet has exported more than 1,200 tons this year. Wasteland has been developed and multiple-crop areas enlarged. Farmers in Doilungdegen planted maize and potato and earned more than 36,000 yuan per hectare, 6 times what rice would have brought them. By raising pigs, many families in Xigaze (Shigatse) have earned some 10,000 yuan this year. (W 21 December)

1 December: Forest growth in Tibet exceeds consumption, a remote-sensing technology survey reported, according to Xinhua. There are 7.6 million hectares of forests, and forest cover rate is 7.92%. Tibet has 2.5 million cu.m. of trees available for logging annually but only cuts about 1.8 cu.m. "Tibet's tree cutting is far behind tree growth on the whole, except for such areas as Yadong, Gongbo Gyamda and Nyingchi counties". (W 21 December)

9 January: Tibet faced serious natural disasters in 1994 but still obtained a respectable harvest, Lhasa radio

claimed. Despite pests, floods, drought, hail and snow, output details were as follows:

grain: 640,000 tons, up 3.2% on 1993
rapeseed: 27,500 tons, up 22%
meat: 106,000 tons
wool: 8,800 tons
stock in hand at year's end: 23.2m
area planted with cash crops: 70,000 mu up

on 1993

no. of town and village enterprises: 4,018,
employing 42,000 people. Their output (250 million yuan) accounted for 10% of the region's agricultural output.

Loans for the poor totalled 55m yuan and 1,369 families comprising 9,777 people shook off poverty. (14 January)

12 January: Xinhua published a further report on the 1994 harvest, repeating in the main the same details. (14 January)

21 January: Annual scientific and technological input into agriculture is worth some 1m yuan, with 200,000-300,000 farmers being trained yearly, Xinhua reported. More than 133,000 hectare of farmland was treated with comprehensive prevention and control of diseases and pests last year. The total acreage for improved varieties increased by 140,000 ha, including some fields more than 4,100 metres above sealevel. Last year nearly 66,700 hectare were listed in the "Harvest Plan", intended to develop high-yield farmland by using more inputs. The counties of Gyangze and Xigaze, for instance, which were used as test counties for the plan, recorded a total grain and oil output of over 100m kg in 1994. (28 January)

Communications

7 October: The first phases of preparation for building a railway in Tibet has started, announced Wang Dianyan, deputy director of the TAR Planning Commission. The railway will need a total investment of over 20 billion yuan, he added. Relevant geological prospecting, feasibility studies and design will "soon start", and the first phase is expected to be completed within the next 4-5 years. (11 October)

9 October: Tibet recently marked the 40th anniversary to the Xining-Lhasa and Chengdu-Lhasa highways, Xinhua reported. Beijing has allotted more than 4 billion yuan for more highways since the two roads were opened in 1954. Currently Tibet has 21,842 kms of roads, of which 1,477 are graded. Highways now link up 77% of the TAR townships. Civilian vehicles have increased to 27,000, and the Jiefang trucks used in the past have been replaced by Dongfeng and imported vehicles. There are 1,060 buses which carry 400,000 people a year. (11 October)

11 October: The "Qinghai-Tibet Line", comprising a highway, pipeline and telegraph/telephone line, has recently been used for delivering 5.8 million tons of goods, moving 2 million troops in and out of Tibet, and shipping 2.1 million tons of oil into Tibet, Army Liberation Daily reported. The road network and vehicles have been heavily upgraded and the

communications line provides links between Beijing and the entire Tibet Military District, as well as oil and troop depots along the line. Better health care and living conditions have improved amenities for the troops. (3 November)

10 November: The Chengdu Military Region's construction of the Lhasa-Xigaze fibre optic cable line is due to start soon, Lhasa TV reported. This is one of the 62 projects sponsored by the regional office to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the TAR's establishment.

17 November: CAAC in co-operation with Boeing is opening Boeing 757 services at Bamda [Pomda] airport in the TAR, Xinhua reported. Boeing managed to land a 757 on a trial basis at the rebuilt Bamda in Qamdo [Chamdo] county at an altitude of 4,334 million above sea level, the highest airport in the world. However, the opening of a regular air service has not been set because of high altitude problems. Bamda airport was built by the Chinese air force in 1970 but abandoned very soon. The central government has invested 250 million yuan in rebuilding the airport to improve transport conditions in this area. (W 23 November, also in 21 November)

20 November: After field study, experts have decided that a fibre-optic cable between Qinghai and Tibet is feasible, Xinhua reported. The cable would be about 2,000 kms, connecting Xining and Lhasa. It would upgrade quality and capacity of telecommunications between the two cities and boost the economy of Tibet. The construction is being organised by the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications with loans from the World Bank. (22 November)

17 January: The TAR spent 356 million yuan on 325 km of roads in 1994, Xinhua said. A highway is being built to Medog. Around 75% of the project to renovate major sections of the Tibet-Qinghai railway has been finished, and progress made on repair of the Sichuan-Tibet highway. Bangda [Pomda] airport was finished last year at a cost of 250 million yuan. New facilities were being added at Gonggar airport. (W 25 January)

Construction

24 January: Lhasa's urban construction has made "great progress" in the past 30 years, Xinhua claimed. "Before liberation in 1959, Tibet was under the control of religion, a city dotted with numerous [...] temples [...] Yet living conditions were mostly slums crowded into certain sections of the city [...] In the 1970s, the city built a service section in the centre, an industrial district in the north and a transportation centre in the west part of the city... A large shelterbelt was also built around the city, which at that time only covered 18 sq km, with a population of 100,000. Since 1984 [...] the city has expanded to cover over 50 sq km, with a population of over 300,000 [...] In 1994 the central government decided to aid in the construction of 62 infrastructural projects in Tibet, more than 10 of them in Lhasa". (28 January)

Economy

15 September: Tibet leaders discussed Shigatse's economy with visiting Shandong personnel, Lhasa TV reported on 16 September. Guo Jinlong, Yuan Chuantang, Gyamco and Laba Pingcui [Lhagpa Phuntsog] met Chen Jianguo, vice-governor of Shandong. Chen said the Third Forum had strengthened his confidence in helping Tibetans achieve a fairly comfortable standard of living by the year 2000.

19 September: Preparatory work for 62 projects being built in Tibet with assistance from various localities is being accelerated, *People's Daily* reported. It will be basically completed, excepting one or two, by the end of this month. The construction of the first 17 projects has begun. The Third Forum last July decided to invest 2.38 billion yuan in these 62 projects, which cover agriculture, energy, communications and others. The State Planning Commission, State Economic and Trade Commission have provided 115 million yuan for the first projects. To support them, the TAR government will reduce or exempt taxes and charges on these projects. Consequently they will pay 70 million yuan and reductions and exemptions will be 160 million yuan. (11 October)

28 September: The *Tibet Daily* published the TAR interim provisions on price gouging ("cheating through dishonest prices") and seeking exorbitant profits, issued on 16 September. The provisions, which apply to all businesses, are meant to maintain a stable market and control commodity market prices. Everyone is encouraged to supervise price gouging and seeking exorbitant profits (Article 6), and departments in charge should monitor market prices of major commodities (Article 7). Price gouging consists of: 1. passing off inferior or fake goods; 2. using fraudulent favourable prices to promote sales; 3. not clearly marking prices or hoarding and speculating; 4. spreading false information on prices, forcing up the market or cornering the market, or raising prices unreasonably

Price checking bodies will check prices and investigate exorbitant profits and will impose penalties such as criticism or fines (13 October)

26 September: The 62 Tibet projects are designed to change the "severely backward" situation of Tibet's infrastructure, the Beijing magazine *Liaowang* said. But Tibet still faces "many difficulties"; over 50% of the construction funds still need to be allocated by the state, nearly 700 townships cannot be reached by road and production costs are much higher than elsewhere in the interior, seriously affecting ability to repay funds. *Liaowang* gives some details of the projects, and of the donors and lenders: Beijing, Liaoning, Henan, Shandong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, Fujian, Shaanxi, Hebei, Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangdong and Sichuan have already sent teams to reconnoitre. (22 October)

6 October: Tibet will strive for 10% average annual growth, with GNP of 6.95 billion yuan by the year 2000 and increases in grain, power generation, per capita income, education and health, the *People's Daily* reported. There are four objectives, to develop agricultural and pastoral areas, secondary and tertiary industry and infrastructure. (29 October)

8 October: Guo Jinlong, TAR party deputy secretary, urged that banking and credit should be used more to help the poor, *Tibet Daily* reported on 9 October. In a speech to a regional meeting on credit aid, he stated that speeding development in poor areas would help the TAR overall; credit aid to the poor should be better managed and more widely publicised; Beijing's aid should be better organised; town and village enterprises should get preference in credit; and banks should accelerate their reform. He noted in passing that the State Council had decided to allocate an extra 1 billion yuan to work-relief programmes and 1 billion yuan in low interest loans, while credit funds would be diverted from economically-developed Guangdong and five other coastal provinces to the poorer regions in central and west China, starting from 1994. "The authorities explicitly stated at the Third Forum on Work on Tibet that special consideration would be given to funds for assisting the poor in Tibet", he added. (29 October)

11 October: Gyaincain [Gyaltsen] Norbu, TAR government chairman, has told officials to avoid scattering funds and relying on relief in their work on aid to the poor, Lhasa radio reported. Funds should be used where truly needed, he said, especially in job creation. Tibet should not rely only on state support because it had so many poor, he said. Local budgets should also include such projects. (22 October)

21 October: The TAR will receive 62 projects aided by other cities and provinces in China, the Beijing journal *Liaowang* reported. In March Jiang Zemin and Li Peng told the State Planning Commission and State Economic and Trade Commission to study the projects, and the State Council organised teams to go to Tibet. Initially the 61 proposed projects were revised, and 62 agreed. These are in the following categories: 13 projects in agriculture; 15 power plant projects; 7 transport and communication projects; and 21 social and civil engineering projects. New production from these projects, plus from current projects under construction, will boost GNP growth to 10% annually in the 9th five year plan period (1995-2000 - years as given). All Chinese localities agreed to support Tibet, with Shanghai, Guangdong and Jiangsu the leading contributors. Total cost now projected is about 2.6 billion yuan. The centre and "relevant" departments are carrying over 75%, local sectors over 24%. Work has started, with investigation teams from various provinces and cities arriving, while the Armed Police No.3 Hydropower team has begun on the Xigaze Manla water conservation scheme. (28 November)

26 October: The Nagqu [Nagchu] prefectural state taxation bureau was inaugurated with a speech from Zhisong, deputy commissioner of the Nagqu government administration urging better work, Lhasa TV reported. (7 November)

2 November: The TAR government has planned economic growth at 10% to catch up with the rest of the country, *Xinhua* reported. This was an upward change from last year's 8%. This will mean expansion of grain-growing, vegetables, livestock and meat, plus forest products. (7 November)

9 November: The building of a 56-hectare comprehensive development zone started, Xinhua reported. Near the Lhasa river, it will be completed in about three years and cost around 380m yuan (about \$44.7m). The project is jointly funded by Lhasa city and the Zhonghe group, Hainan province. The zone will foster high-tech industry, tourism, finance, trade, real estate, recreation and education. (11 November)

3 November: Customs officials in Lhasa have cut tariffs on goods imported for the use of modern industry, infrastructure, agriculture and animal husbandry, Xinhua reported. (7 November)

26 November: Over 20% of Tibet's population, some 480,000 people, live below the poverty line, Xinhua reported. To eliminate poverty before 2000, the regional government will give 30 million yuan a year in assistance and state-run banks will offer low-interest loans from a fund of 160 million yuan a year to help people step up output. (5 December)

6 December: The State Council today held a meeting on supporting construction in Tibet, Xinhua reported. Luo Gan, secretary general, presided. It was learned that some localities and departments have sent work teams to Tibet, and some preparations and even actual construction has started. Luo Gan called on these organisations to support Tibet as far as possible. (10 December)

6 December: There are more than 2,000 members of the stock exchange and the biggest daily transaction was over 5 million yuan, Ban Lirong, deputy general manager of the Lhasa stock exchange, which opened in January 1994, noted, according to Xinhua. (10 December)

6 December: "Apartments, telephones and computers have become the latest three 'big items' popular in Lhasa, Xinhua reported. A local government official said that to date more than 200 apartments had been sold in one municipal district alone, at a cost of 600-odd yuan per square metre. The regional government has also sold houses with a total floor area of some 1,000 sq. m. About 20% of telephones and 10% of computers installed in Lhasa this year were bought by individual buyers, he said. (10 December)

10 December: Zhejiang province is to help Tibet build the Jiagang hydropower station in Xainza (Shentsa) county, at a height of over 4,700 metres, Xinhua reported. The contractor is the Hydropower Corporation of the PAP, which is currently building another power station in Tibet. (12 December)

Economic Policy

26 December: The TAR party committee held a meeting to discuss the guidelines of the Central Economic Work Meeting. Yang Chuantang, party deputy secretary, made a number of points including the following: Tibet should put more stress on restructuring state enterprises; it should give top priority to agriculture; build infrastructure projects and make sure they are finished on time; take the "anti-splitist struggle" as a major task. The meeting was chaired by Guo Jinlong,

described as deputy executive secretary of the regional party committee, a post which Raidi appears previously to have filled. (14 January)

Economic Results and Indicators

16 October: "South Tibet, cradle of Tibetan culture, is boosting economic development in an all-round way", Xinhua noted. The area, mostly in Shannan prefecture, abounds in "scenic spots" and minerals including chromite, lead, zinc and rock crystal. To make use of these and speed up development, 600 million yuan will be invested in energy, transport, telecommunication, agriculture and education before end-95, Qiabga Punco [Jampa Phuntsog], a local government official reported. Projects under way include: Gonggar airport, an asphalt road from Gonggar to Zetang [Tsetang], a highway from Gonggar to Lhasa, a seventh bridge over the Yarlung Zangbo [Tsangpo] and four ground satellite stations. Other plans include: developing two power plants on the Oiga river; building a power plant in Comai county; mining chromite in Qusum; building reservoirs in Gonggar county; expanding Zetang tree nursery; planting more trees for the Yarlung Zangbo shelter forest; improving agricultural land, rearranging grain structure to step up output of grain, vegetation and edible oil. "South Tibet is working flat out in a bid to set up five bases of commodity grain, light industry and textiles", Qiabga Punco said. (19 October)

17 October: Chi Zholma [Drolma], formerly a beggar in the TAR, is now a farmland contractor and one of the richest men in the region, Xinhua reported. Chi has contracted 13 ha. of farmland since 1984 and has made 20,000 yuan annually by selling surplus grain. He built a 9-room house, bought furniture and farm tools. In 1989 he was listed national labour hero and met some senior leaders in Beijing. (19 October)

27 October: Cering Wangqin [Tsering Wangchen] borrowed 1,000 yuan in 1987 to start a small business, Xinhua reported. Now his sweet shop has multiplied into six, he has built a woollen mill, flour mill and a diversified family enterprise with fixed assets worth 240,000 yuan and working capital of over 100,000 yuan. He is an instance of successful aid from Tibetan branches of the People's Bank to enable poor people to become better off. In Amdo county, for example, the farmers' per capita annual income has risen from 289 yuan to 628 yuan. (29 October)

21 November: Tibet's 62 key projects are going well, Xinhua reported. Preparatory work has been done on 48 of them, with nearly 130 million yuan set aside for them. The construction of 27 has been in progress since September last year. All the provinces and cities designated by Beijing to aid the projects have set up special teams, and inspection teams have also visited Tibet. More projects will receive financial aid because of these inspections. (22 November)

25 November: Tibet will report a GDP of over 4 billion yuan this year and will reach the 8% growth rate set at the beginning of the year, Xinhua reported. The region has given priority to agriculture and animal husbandry and stressed basic improvement in the fields. Gross output value of agriculture is expected to be 2.45 billion

yuan this year, 4.5% up on last year. Fledgling township enterprises are expected to report income of 250 million yuan. Industries above township level had, up to end-October, produced 330 million yuan worth, 25% up on last year, and sales volume of 370 million yuan, up by 18.3%. All-TAR industrial output was estimated at 516 million yuan, 9.1% up. During 1994 Tibet invested more than 2 billion yuan in fixed assets, mainly roads, energy, telecom, minerals and construction materials. Markets also are prospering. Retail sales will reach 2.5 billion yuan, 27.6 % up on last year. Import-export trade by end-October was \$112 million, 10% up. (28 November)

30 December: Other details of Tibet's 1994 economy were given by Xinhua. Besides developments reported above, it noted that in the Yarlung Tsangpo river, Lhasa river and Nianchu river region, 165m yuan had been invested in comprehensive development. Output of all major industrial products, such as electricity, boromagnesite and cement, increased. Tibet invested 2.02 billion yuan in fixed assets, of which 1.83 billion yuan went into capital construction. The Luobusha [Norbusha] and Shannan [Shannan] Chromite Mines were completed. Enterprises with investment from outside Tibet (including abroad) rose to 18. Their total investment is 1.02 billion yuan, plus US\$17.12 million. (14 January)

3 January: In 1994 Tibet's GDP surpassed 4 billion yuan, with annual per capita income of farmers and nomads averaging 550 yuan. Xinhua reported. Agricultural output rose by 4.5% to 2.45 billion yuan. Grain was roughly the same as in 1993. Output of oil crops rose to 27,000 tons, a 22% rise. Tibet produced 106,000 tons of meat and 8,800 tons of wool. Township enterprises grew rapidly, yielding profit of 250 million yuan.

Gross industrial output rose over 9% to 516 million yuan by upgrading the product mix through renovation and improved management. Freight carried rose to 735,000 tons, up 6.5%. Infrastructure projects continued, with some completed. Renovation of the Potala and of Bangda [Pomda] airport were finished. Repairs of the roads linking Tibet with Sichuan and Qinghai are under way. The Yangtze and Chalung hydropower stations are nearly finished. Of the 62 projects aided by other provinces, 48 have completed initial preparations. Work on 27 projects, including the road linking Lhasa with Gonggar, and the "Potala Palace Square", has begun.

Import-export trade and tourism rose 16.5% to \$120 million. Overseas tourists numbering 28,000 visited, providing \$10 million profit. Public health, education, science and culture also made progress. (7 January)

6 January: The Tibet-based Mingzhu (Pearl) Shareholding Corporation issued 30 million stocks in Lhasa, the first ever share issuance in Tibet, Xinhua reported. Official sources say the Beijing-based China Huaxia Securities Co. Ltd., one of China's four big securities houses, has a mandate to lead-manage the 1 yuan shares. All the 102 million yuan (\$12m) raised will be used to upgrade the Chengdu-Tibet hotel, sponsor of the Mingzhu company, build a new hotel in Sichuan and

set up two firms in Lhasa. The company plans to go public on the Shanghai stock exchange after the issuance. Yang Chuantang, vice-chairman of Tibet, noted that to boost development the region will continue to introduce the shareholding system in its well-run state firms. (10 January)

10 January: Last year Tibet reformed its tax by introducing the tax distribution system operating in the rest of China, Lhasa radio reported. This worked well. The new system unified the indirect tax system for Chinese and foreign-invested enterprises, expanded the application limits of the value-added tax, cut out overlapping product taxes and changed the past system of collecting income tax from enterprises based on who owned them. Healthy development of the economy and a better system meant revenues (excluding tariffs) up by over 34%. Expenditures are expected to rise 32.9%. Tax income set a record at 259 million yuan, up 18% over 1993. (14 January)

26 January: Xinhua published a further report on Tibet's economy in 1994. According to this, the region's agricultural output value reached only 2.33 billion yuan, up 5.4%, with grain at 640,000 tons, up 3.2%. It noted that in 1994 [1995?] Tibet's industrial output value was expected to shoot up 12% to 535m yuan as a result of better management and product mix. Some 1.44 million tons of goods were shipped in and out of Tibet, 6% more than 1993. A new air route to Chongqing was opened. Roads to Qinghai, Sichuan and Nepal are being upgraded. Work has started on 27 out of the 62 projects aided by other areas in China.

Trade progressed last year, with the region handling imports and exports totalling US\$375 million [but see other figures above], 3.5 times the amount in 1993. Profits from tourism were 22 million yuan [but see above].

Tax revenues climbed 18% to 259 million yuan. Savings deposits reached 4.48 billion yuan at year end. Retail sales rose nearly 15% to 2.25 billion yuan. (28 January)

Mining

18 January: Gyamco, executive vice-chairman of the TAR government, and responsible for gold mining, said at a gold mining conference in Lhasa that Tibet was rich in minerals, which account for about 20% of industrial output, Lhasa radio reported. He stressed the need to give priority to the Zenazanbu gold mine this year, and called for more orderly administration.

Pingcui Jiebo, deputy director of the TAR industry department, reported that there were 148 mine zones in the TAR, of which six had deposits. Last year the TAR produced 13.527kg of gold, up over 361% in 1993. By end-93, over 14 tons of deposits had been discovered in six gold-mining zones. (28 January)

Tourism

4 January: A holiday village at Conngo Lake, 360 km east of Lhasa in Gongbo'gyamda county, is under

construction, Xinhua reported. Three villas, with 18 suites of rooms with "typical folk features" have been built with investment of 80 million yuan. Rooms with 100 beds will be built this year, along with water-sports

facilities. When finished in 1997 the village, sponsored by three local firms, will be able to house 1,200 tourists a year. (10 January and W11 January)

EDUCATION

Ban on Tibetan Children Going to India Extended

The 1994 ban on government employees allowing their children to study in India was planned over a year earlier, when questionnaires were circulated in government offices about where their children were at school, according to recent information from Tibet. Over a third of the Tibetan refugees arriving in Nepal or India are children seeking to join exile schools or monasteries.

There are also indications that the ban, thought to apply only to government employees, may be extended to some Tibetans with a record of anti-Government activity, even if they do not have government jobs, and to close relatives of government employees, according to a Tibetan who travelled to India to collect his children in November. The Tibetan was not a government employee, but lived with a relative who had a minor office job with the Chinese government.

In 1995 the ban is expected to be extended to cover not just the use of exile schools but all contacts between government employees in Tibet and their relatives in exile, the businessman said. The Chinese policy of allowing contact between Tibetan families inside and outside Tibet is identified with the then Party Secretary Hu Yaobang and was one of the figurehead liberalisations of the post-1979 era.

Former dissidents who have been told that they must collect their children from India have allegedly been refused passports which would allow them to go there legally, forcing them to use illegal methods to collect their children.

"The people who were involved in demonstrations will not be given passports to go to India," said the Lhasa businessman, who said he had been refused a passport because of his political record. "The passports will not be issued to these people, but they were ordered to bring their children back in the same way they were sent to India. So there was nothing I could do but to buy a passport instead," said the businessman. The vast majority of Tibetan children sent to schools in India are taken out of Tibet illegally by walking over the Himalayas into Nepal.

In mid-1994 reports first emerged from Lhasa that new regulations were being introduced which would ban government employees from allowing their children to study in exile schools in India. The new policy has been associated with the 3rd National Forum on Work in Tibet, a meeting which was held in July 1994 and which is believed to have called for a crackdown on support amongst cadres for the Dalai Lama.

Government employees in Lhasa were told at meetings during September that they must bring their children back from India by the end of the year, and meetings were also held in neighbourhood committees, which are attended by businessmen and others who are not officials, where similar warnings were given. At first a general instruction was given without a deadline, but by September some committees had started to impose a cut-off date by which the children must be brought back to Tibet. "Whether the Chinese are being strict with the people or not depends on whether the committee leaders are 'good' or 'bad'. If the leaders are 'good' they won't force people to bring back their children immediately," said the businessman, who asked not to be named.

"For us the deadline is 15th December. If we don't bring our children back in time, the people in higher positions will be demoted, workers in small factories will lose their jobs and those who were promised a pay rise several months ago will not get it", he said.

**党员、干部送子女到达赖集团
开办学校读书情况登记表**

姓名		性别	民族	出生年月	文化程度	参加工作时间	入党(团)时间	工作单位	何时开始职务	何时送子女到何地上学	送子女出境
姓	名										
姓	别										
出生年月											
文化程度											
参加工作时间											
入党(团)时间											
工作单位											
何时开始职务											
何时送子女到何地上学											
送子女出境											

填报单位： 填报日期： 年 月 日

Doc 1(WH) Questionnaire Asking Government officials if their Children are in India

"The order came in the form of the TAR Government Document Number 15. Failure to comply with this order, the document said, would be met with punitive measures, such as expulsion from the party, and [a] freeze in promotion and salary increases", reported Tempa Tsering, head of the exile Government's Department of Information, on 15th October 1994. He added that failure to comply with the directive would

also mean forfeiture of the children's residential permits and entitlements to rations.

670 Tibetan children under 18 years of age arrived unaccompanied over the mountains to Nepal in 1994 - 27% of the total 2,500 refugees who arrived in that year. 100 other children came with their families or with adult guardians. The figures already show a distinct dropping off in the numbers of children arriving after July, with the percentage of unaccompanied children amongst refugees arriving in the last five months of 1994 down to 23%, while the figure for arrivals in the first six months of 1994 was over 30%.

Exile officials say that between 6,000 and 9,000 Tibetans have escaped from Tibet to seek educational opportunities in India and Nepal in the last ten years. About 5,000 of these are said to have joined monasteries and nunneries, while some 4,000 had joined lay schools run by the exiles.

The Chinese authorities had begun preparations for the policy of recalling children from India up to a year before it was reportedly given formal sanction by the Third National Forum. A document entitled "List of the Children of Party Members and Cadres Sent to Dalai Clique Schools to Study" (TIN Reference 1(WH)) shows that government employees had to supply the names of any of their children who were at school in India.

List of the Children of Party Members and Cadres Sent to Dalai Clique Schools to Study			
	Children of Party members and cadres sent to study at Dalai Clique schools	Spouse	Male/Female
Name:			
Sex:			
Date of birth:			
Educational level:			
Date of joining work (unit):			
Date of entering Party:			
Name of office:			
Rank:			
Place and date on which your children were sent:			
The method or route by which your children were sent abroad:			
Department which filled in this form:	Date on which form was filled in:		

Translation of Questionnaire (TIN Doc 1(WH))

The document, which is in the form of a questionnaire, is undated and does not show which department issued it, but is believed to have been first circulated among government offices in 1993. It gives an insight into the long planning that goes into Chinese policies, involving considerable preparation and information gathering before any public announcement or implementation of the policy. The questionnaire would have had the double effect that failure to answer correctly would lead to later punishment, and answering correctly would also lead to punishment, unless the children were brought back.

"This form shows them ordering the Communist Party members and government employees to declare whether their children are studying in India," said a Tibetan in Lhasa, commenting on the document. "It was some time in 1993 that they carried out this registration of sons, daughters and relative's names from families all over the TAR. At the time no one knew why this survey was being carried out. Now it turns out that the Chinese wanted to use it against the families who have their children abroad."

An earlier notice had ordered that those educated in India and Nepal should not be recruited in government offices, especially not in travel agencies, he added. Many Tibetans believe that returnees from India will not be allowed to get good jobs because they will be regarded as politically suspect.

"If the children aren't back, we will be thrown out of our house"

Interview with Lhasa businessman, India, November 1994

[TIN Ref. Doc.R4(FV2)].

The interview confirms reports of a ban on government employees allowing their children to study in India. The speaker in this interview is not an official, but could have been included in the ban because he has a close relative who works for the government. He implies that the ban has been extended to suspected dissidents, and that these people have been prevented from getting passports to travel to India, forcing them to travel illegally. Penalties for breaking the ban include loss of promotion and possible loss of residence permits. The interviewee also confirms reports that religious objects and Dalai Lama photos are forbidden in the houses of government officials, and says that his house had been searched. Returnees from India are unlikely to have good job prospects, and for government employees contacts between Tibetans inside and outside Tibet are likely to be stopped.

I was told that I had to bring my children who are studying abroad back to Lhasa. The Chinese say that the contact between Tibetans in exile and those inside Tibet will be stopped from next year onwards. "Previously we have talked with the Dalai lama in a very friendly way, but he still hasn't given up the idea of Tibetan independence. Because the Dalai won't stop talking about Tibetan independence he has become our enemy. [...] Those who already have passports to go to India to meet their relatives or to go on a pilgrimage will be allowed to visit India. But from next year onwards this will not be possible any longer. If you don't bring back your children who were sent to India to study you will be having your cake and eating it."

If those who are outside Tibet became successful we were planning to go there. If we were successful inside Tibet we were planning to call our children back to Tibet. Now this is not possible. So, we have to bring all our children back to Tibet. The number of Tibetan children studying in India is not small. It's very large. The order was issued [in our area] on 27th September. People were asked to get their children back within a certain set period of time. For us the deadline is 15th December. If we don't bring our children back in time, the people in higher positions will be demoted, workers in small factories will lose their jobs and those who were promised a pay rise several months ago will not get it. In this way we have so many problems. Therefore I came to India to fetch my children.

The order was issued by the Uyonlenkhang [Neighbourhood Committee] Office. [...] There are four security offices in each committee now. The person in charge of my neighbourhood committee [...] told me that the order was from the central government.

Almost all people in the offices were talking about it, so many people were getting ready to come to India to fetch their children and take them back to Lhasa. The people who were involved in demonstrations will not be given passports to go to India. Many people do not get passports. But how can they get their children back from India without passports? The Chinese are rejecting their request [for a passport] and tell them; 'If we gave you this passport, you would go to the Kalachakra Initiation in January and come back with all sorts of information.' The passports will not be issued, but they [the people without passports] were ordered to bring their children back in the same way they were sent to India. So there was nothing I could do but to buy a passport instead. [...] It cost me 5,500 yuan [equivalent to about 2 years average income] and they charged me for other things besides, which they never provided. [...]

Those who return from India after having received education there would not be given jobs, because their minds will not be 'clean'. There are only a few people who after having received education in India are doing some kind of temporary job. The children will be without opportunity [literally, useless] once they return to Tibet after attending schools in India.

Secondly, we are not allowed to keep Dalai Lama pictures in our homes. [...] The Tibetans are not allowed to keep Dalai Lama pictures in their own houses. The only picture they are allowed to have is the picture of H.H. with the Panchen Lama and Mao Zedong. The Chinese are confiscating the pictures on the market. Four policemen came to my house [...] to check whether I had any pictures in my house. [...] They were all Chinese. When they reached my house I had already hidden the pictures. [...]

The Chinese said: 'We are communists and we don't have any religious practices in our history.' When my parents died I bought a new statue for the deceased. This is our tradition. What should I do with this valuable statue? I paid a lot of money for it, so I can't throw it away. Neither can I keep it in my house, so my only option will be to give it to a monastery. These kind of things happened during the Cultural Revolution and it seems that it will happen again. Offering incense and inviting monks to perform a puja at one's house are prohibited. This was announced on 27th September.

I have got one month's time to bring my children back to Lhasa. [...] So I have to go and get my children immediately. Actually I'm leaving tomorrow to collect them. One of my children has been studying in India for 6 years now. The other one, who came to India last year, is studying in Bir school. If the children won't be back in Lhasa in time, we will be thrown out of our house and our 'themtho' [residence permit] will be taken away by

the Chinese. Without these we would have no house to live in and no food to eat. I find the situation very difficult. I live in the same house as a relative who works in a government office. [...]

There is no other way but to get my children back to Lhasa. It is very expensive to send my children to Chinese to be educated. Whether this education would be good or not, they won't get any jobs if they don't have any 'hooks'. [i.e., connections with influential]. As our wages are very low, it's hard for us to send our children to China to study. Since the moment I sent my first child to India, I have occasionally sent them some small presents like shoes. But I don't have to pay a single penny for their fees. Everything is organised by the Dalai Lama. So I sent my other child to India as well.

I am very sad to take my children back to Lhasa. There is no chance for them to continue their studies. Where there is an education facility the children are not allowed to study. I find this very difficult. I suppose in human rights declarations every child has the right to education anywhere. For example, you have the right to send your children to another country to go to school. We Tibetans have no such right. From 1985 to 1994 the Chinese Government made such sweet statements, like 'The Tibetans have freedom of religion. A special political system to improve Tibet has been established.' But Tibetans have no freedom. If you go to Lhasa or anywhere else you can see for yourself. In Tibet there are still many people who haven't got enough tsampa to eat and there are also many people who have many children but no proper house to live in. In Lhasa the cost of living is increasing rapidly. For example, we have to pay 8 yuan for 1 gyama [half a kilo] of oil, 15 yuan for one gyama of butter and 7 yuan for one gyama of meat. Moreover, we have to pay the water bill, electricity, rent, etc. In general, those who get a high salary might be able to afford all of these.

I am not an official. I am a business man. The government officials have to get their children back from India and they have to cut off all ties with their relatives in exile starting from next year. For those who took part in anti-Chinese demonstrations, they [the authorities] have also set a deadline for getting their children back. The public came to know about this new policy when it was made public. At first they [the authorities] didn't set a deadline. Whether the Chinese are being strict with the people or not depends on whether the committee leaders are 'good' or 'bad'. If the leaders are 'good' they won't force people to bring back their children immediately. If these leaders are 'bad' they force people to bring back their children at once.

The new policy was announced at a meeting in [...] September. There were about 400 people present at the meeting in my Uyonlenkhang. Just a few of them have come to India. Other people are still in Tibet because they are scared of the plague in India. I saw two or three people from my Uyonlenkhang in Nepal. They were on their way to India. After we get back to Tibet, the other people will come.

Chinese Press on Education, Patriotic Education, and Culture

Summaries of selected articles from Chinese newspapers and radio broadcasts relating to education and culture, including articles on the campaign on patriotic education. Dates in brackets show when the translation was published in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts.

28 September: Guo Jinlong, Tibet CCP deputy secretary, called for more education for youth in Marxism, more stress on unification and more understanding of the party's nationality policy, Lhasa radio reported on 1 October. "They should bear in mind that the Chinese nation is a single entity", he added. (11 October)

3 October: TAR Science and Technology Association has become an "important force", Xinhua reported. With 50 societies and nearly 10,000 members, it has worked in the rural and pastoral areas to improve production. It has sponsored training, audio-visual education, TV programmes, a science newspaper, and conducted international academic exchange. (11 October)

9 October: The Fund for Tibetan Development recently awarded its holy palace prize to 32 educators in the TAR, Xinhua reported. They included Coru Cering, of the Tibet Medical College, who has developed some 250 kinds of Tibetan medicine and written more than 170 books and papers. A Han prizewinner was Dong

Guozheng, assistant professor at the Tibet Agricultural and Husbandry Institute. (11 October)

26 October: Gyaincain Norbu, chairman of the TAR government, speaking at the fifth regional meeting on education, set out recent improvements in Tibet education but noted that schools were still not meeting all the needs. He pointed out that the Third Forum on Tibet stressed the need for education and urged more emphasis on vocational training and moral education to provide more "lofty ideals and moral integrity". He stressed the need to build up a teaching force and to organise education well, with better administration and more properly-used funds. (21 November)

26 October: Chen Kuiyuan, TAR party secretary, speaking at the fifth regional meeting on education, urged educators to work harder, *Tibet Daily* reported on 28 October. He noted that there was an improvement in Tibet's literacy rate but that the TAR still lagged others in education; school attendance was low and drop-out rate high. Political, ideological and moral education was weak and so the Dalai clique infiltrated its ideas. Tibetans lagged behind modern society, he said, and had outmoded ideas and bad customs which were poisoning society. Contingents should be strengthened with doses of political awareness; some teachers were influenced by the Dalai clique and religion; teachers should remould themselves constantly, he said. (21 November)

28 October: The Tibet Education Foundation, designed to aid Tibetan students in China, has been set

up in Lhasa. Some 5.3 million yuan have been raised, in part from the Tibet branch of the People's Bank and the Lhasa Customs. Gyaincain [Gyaltsen] Norbu, chairman of the TAR government, is the chairman of this foundation. (1 November)

29 October: Leaders of the TAR, including Chen Kuiyuan and Gyaincain Norbu, attended the fifth regional conference on education, Lhasa TV reported. Commendations, silk banners and cash awards were given to advanced schools. The regional committee of the Communist Youth League reported on the Hope Project in the TAR. (1 November)

31 October: The Tibet government has given top priority to developing education, the *People's Daily* reported on 1 November. More funds, better conditions and greater awareness has boosted school enrolment over the past two years. Some peasants and herders now voluntarily run schools, while the authorities are promoting technical education to train elementary and intermediate professional technicians and enhancing labourers' quality. In 16 secondary schools Tibet has introduced some vocational courses. (21 November)

31 October: The TAR government has awarded a total of 850,000 yuan to ten counties and 15 townships where education has been developing rapidly. Now 90% of school age children are at school in the farming counties and townships. 70% in the semi-pastoral areas and over 50% in the pastoral areas. (3 November)

2 November: North-West Normal University in Lanzhou, Gansu province, has set up two training centres, for Tibetans and other minority nationalities, Xinhua reported. Over 700 have graduated, including 119 Tibetans who have returned home. The university has also sent teachers to Tibet to improve local teaching methods. (7 November)

23 November: Over 100 Tibetan children aged between six and 12 are now studying in the Sino-Swedish Friendship School set up by Soinam [Sonam], a Swedish Tibetan, Xinhua reported. Most of the children come from poor families in Muzhugongka [Meldrogungkar] autonomous county. Soinam decided to set up the school in his home village, Gaza [Katsel], in 1988, when he returned to Tibet 30 years after he left it. He has raised more than 1 million yuan through the Swedish Tibetan Culture and Education Association, of which he is head. (5 December)

28 November: Chen Kuiyuan, secretary of the TAR party committee, stressed the need to "stabilise the situation and persist in fighting splittism" when touring Qamdo [Chamdo] prefecture 14-20 November, Lhasa radio reported. [...] "Communists are not allowed to have any religious belief, much less participation in religious activities by leading cadres [...] People in richer areas usually do not take a great interest in religions, whereas the poorer people are, the stronger their enthusiasm for religions". Speaking of schools, he noted that "The essence of educational work is to cultivate qualified constructors and successors for the socialist cause, and this is the sole basic mission in ethnic education". (5 December)

7 December: The Lhasa Municipal Administration College was formally established, Lhasa radio reported. It is intended to accelerate personnel reform and will use the Lhasa Party School's facilities. Its job will be to evaluate, hire and promote state functionaries at elementary and middle levels in Lhasa. (13 December)

14 December: The TAR has received more than 400 application forms from students due to graduate next summer since it set up a counter at the first nationwide job fair in Xian which closed on 12 December, Xinhua reported. The job fair was attended by 20,000 students from 235 institutes of higher learning across China. Numbers of applicants for jobs in border areas increased. An official said that more graduates want to work in these developing areas and appreciate the better pay, quicker promotion and more welfare compared to inland cities. (15 December)

19 January: In 1994, Lhasa radio reported, some 60 million yuan was spent on educational capital construction at regional level, some 11.26 million yuan by prefectures and cities and 7.11 million spent by counties. Also, money was raised from the public to build schools. During the year 82 new township primary schools and 249 new village lower primary schools were set up and 51 existing township primary schools and 307 existing village lower primary schools were expanded or renovated. In addition, 10 new middle schools were set up.

The total number of primary and middle school enrollment increased by more than 24,000. Total primary enrollment was 233,000 while middle school enrolment was 28,000. Some 67% of school age students attended primary school, up 4% over 1993.

More than 20 delegations from abroad visited Tibet for scientific survey and exchange. Experts from seven countries visited Tibet for academic exchanges. "Our own experts in Tibetan studies visited Norway and France".

Radio, film and TV also made progress, strengthening "their role in guiding public opinion". Some 43% of the population were able to receive radio broadcasts while 40% were able to receive TV. (28 January)

Patriotic Education

15 September: Education in patriotism is to be given in primary and secondary schools in Tibet, the *People's Daily* reported. This will last three years, and initially will focus on raising the PRC flag and singing the national anthem each Monday. Nearly a third of Tibet's population of 2.2 million are "youths", and 120,000 of them belong to the Communist Youth League. In rural areas, the campaign will use family records, village histories and the contrast of old and new to strengthen the love of boys and girls for the party, socialist system, and the new Tibet. In the townships, to face the problems created by the reform, the campaign will focus on enabling all to appreciate the national situation and that of Tibet. Raidi, executive deputy head of the TAR party committee, noted that to "ensure that Tibet's socialist cause is passed on to the

next generation, we must continuously strengthen education in patriotism among youths". (1 October)

11 November: "After many years of repose", Tibet university has started a new upsurge of patriotic education campaigns. This year, the university stepped up propaganda through forums on patriotism, and a cadre (Huang Yusheng) from the TAR propaganda department presented a report called "See clearly the true colours of the Dalai clique". The university will test "students' understanding of patriotism, appraise and select civilised units of patriotism and launch the month for reading patriotic books". (28 November)

3 December: *Tibet Daily* published the text of the party committee circular on implementing the programme on patriotism. The circular demanded that all should "conscientiously study the programme to enhance ideological understanding"; "grasp the contents of the education" and emphasise fighting splittism, step up education in Tibet's sovereignty and human rights and the law on regional autonomy; make the programme "down to earth" by "raising the national flag, singing the national anthem and hanging the portraits of prominent Chinese historical figures in schools".

Schools in Tibet should be linked with those in Beijing and youth organisations should be involved in making speeches, staging performances, writing bulletin boards and giving lectures on patriotism. All mass organisations should focus on patriotism and "bring into play the role of the family" in youth education. The media should publicise China's "glorious traditions and brilliant culture" and publicise those who safeguard the unity of nationalities. This should be done in a practical way. (17 January)

23 December: The TAR party committee recently issued a circular on implementing the Programme for Education in Patriotism and integrating this with economic reform and the "anti-splittist struggle", Lhasa TV reported. In the TAR context, the report indicates, patriotism means effectively "safeguarding the unification of the motherland". The programme should "take a clearcut stand to expose the Dalai clique's rumour-starting and sabotage activities". Priority should be given to educating youngsters, the report says. (14 January)

Culture

18 October: Work on Potala Palace Square, to be 600 million long and 400 million wide, started, Xinhua reported. It will be finished on 20 August, 1995 and

will cost 110 million yuan. It will include a granite road, parking lot, lawns, fountains, three white pagodas and a Tibetan style workshop. (22 Aug)

8 November: Arts and literature are thriving in Tibet, Xinhua claimed. Nima [Nyima] Tsering, renowned Tibetan painter, staged an exhibition in London last month which was widely acclaimed. Successful writers are Tashi Dawa, Ma Lihua and Penden. Painters and musicians include Han Shuli and his student Pema Tashi, and Awangzhaz, Zhai Yuefei and Li Zhibao. (11 November)

14 November: "A great number of Tibetan literary and artistic works have been revived in Qinghai province in recent years", Xinhua reported. The province has collected 80 kinds of folk literature popular among Tibetans and compiled a 30 volume edition of the "Epic of King Gesar". Progress has been made in the collection of Tibetan proverbs and hymns. (16 November)

28 November: China has begun restoring the three white pagodas said to have been built by Jincheng, the Chinese princess, wife of a Tibetan king, in front of the Potala. A ceremony was held on 18 October and work began on 27 November. The central government will invest 110 million yuan in the project. (5 December)

7 December: A large-scale publication, "*Collection of Historical Archives of Tibet*", compiled by the TAR archives bureau, will soon be published by the Wenwu Publishing House, Xinhua reported.

11 December: A modern grammar of spoken Tibetan was published in Lhasa, Xinhua reported. It contains 488,000 Han characters and was written by Wang Zhijing, 46-year-old lecturer in the Tibet language department at Tibet University. (13 December)

12 December: A collection of Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan treatises were stolen from the State Library in St Petersburg, ITAR-TASS reported. Their value topped \$100 million. The manuscripts were brought to St Petersburg in 1842 by a monk, loaki million Bichurin, who led a mission to Beijing. (13 December)

22 October: Tibetan medicine has become a popular subject of study in international academic circles, Xinhua reported. Scores of research institutes and medical schools have been set up, and the Academy of Medical Studies and other universities are working on it. (28 November)

In one typical case, a group of 20 Tibetans who were interviewed for TIN had reached the Tibetan refugee centre in Kathmandu after walking for one month across the Himalayas and through the lowlands of Nepal to the Nepali capital. They were able to avoid both Chinese border guards and Nepali police and will now be allowed to travel under UNHCR supervision to join other Tibetan exiles in India. The group reached Kathmandu on 5th February.

The escapees, all young men aged between 16 and 25, are suffering from severe frost-bite and already one of them has had two toes amputated; other amputations may follow. The group walked across a 5,700 metre

REFUGEES

2,500 Tibetans Escape Across Himalayas in 1994
TIN News Report/ 21 March, 1995b

An average of 8 Tibetans have been escaping across the mountains each day to Nepal so far this year, apparently to avoid a crackdown on religion in Tibet and increasing economic pressures. 2,500 walked over the mountains last year.

high pass in Southern Tibet, in the shadow of beside Mount Everest, but had no protective clothing. Almost all of them had come from Amdo or Kham, the eastern areas of Tibet, and had already travelled a thousand miles across Tibet to reach the foot of the mountain. They were dressed mainly in thin jackets, shirts and Chinese plimsoll shoes, risking almost certain frostbite. They went without food for at least three successive days during the middle section of their journey.

The refugees say it is safer to travel in the winter when there are fewer Chinese border patrols in the mountains. The refugees try to complete the crossing before February or March, when the risk of snowfall is much greater, but the winter has been exceptionally severe in Tibet this year, with major blizzards over the Himalayan passes, ten thousand Tibetans in Central Tibet stranded by snow, and three days of snow even in Lhasa in mid February.

The group consists mainly of farmers and students from Kham and Amdo, plus one novice monk. All of the escapees said that they had left Tibet because they wanted to meet the Dalai Lama. None expect to go back to their homes in Tibet, "unless the Dalai Lama returns".

Several gave additional reasons for making the dangerous journey. One of the group, a 16 year old student named Lodroe from Amdo, said that he could not afford to pay the 2,000 yuan annual fee for his school. "They didn't teach me English, only Chinese and Tibetan", he added. Another escapee, a 20 year old farmer named Dorje, said that it had become too difficult to make a living from farming.

An 18 year old novice monk from Golog in Amdo said that he had left his monastery, Dorje Dzong Gonpa, because in late 1994 the Chinese authorities had imposed a limit on the number of monks allowed to remain in his monastery. The maximum number had been fixed at 30, a reduction of 70% in the present of monks. The ruling meant that 70 monks would have to leave. Monks under 18 years of age had also been told that they must leave. The monk said that he wanted to go to India where there were better books on religion and where he could get a better religious education. The monk had made the journey wearing plimsolls; all he carried with him were two shawls and a photo of his teacher, a lama in Amdo.

Ngawang, an 18 year old from Dawu in Kham, had been a student but left because he wanted to meet the Dalai Lama. He had studied Chinese and Tibetan at school but said it was difficult for him to study because the teaching medium was Chinese. The Chinese students, he said, were at an advantage because they were usually studying in their own language. Ngawang had two toes amputated, and was at risk of losing more.

279 Tibetans are reported by unofficial sources to have crossed the mountains to Nepal in the first five weeks of this year. Last year 2590 Tibetans crossed into Nepal on their way to India to seek asylum, of whom around 2540 were accepted as refugees, over 1,000 less than in 1993, but more than in 1991 or 1992. These were the ones who succeeded in reaching

Kathmandu directly, except for 538 who were detained by Nepali police but then released to the UNHCR for assessment in Kathmandu. Others may have been arrested and repatriated by Nepalese border police.

46% of the Tibetans regarded as refugees were monks, and 82 (0.3%) were nuns. 700 (28%) were nomads or farmers, and 296 (12%) were students. 642 (27%) were children under 18 who arrived unaccompanied, seeking opportunities to join schools or monasteries in India.

Tibetan Refugee Shot by Nepalese Police, Leg Amputated

TIN Report /24 March 1995

One Tibetan was seriously wounded in August 1994 and three others slightly injured when Nepalese police opened fire on a group of refugees near Limi, in Humla, north-western Nepal, shooting one Tibetan in the leg. No medical attention was given to the most seriously injured Tibetans for almost three weeks, and his lower leg has since been amputated.

The four Tibetans were travelling with ten other refugees on their way from the area of western Tibet close to Mount Kailash, with the intention of going to see the Dalai Lama in India.

On 17th August, when the group were still walking through the Nepalese foothills, only a few days walk south of the border with Tibet, they were approached by a Nepalese man who claimed to be a senior local policeman. He demanded 500 yuan (c.\$60) from each member of the group, saying he would hand them over to other police if they did not pay. He was joined by two uniformed policemen who threatened the group with guns and prevented them from proceeding to Kathmandu, where they would have received protection from the Tibetan exiles and the UNHCR.

The police searched the Tibetans and took their money, while the one-eyed man is said to have thrown religious artefacts they were carrying on the ground and stamped on them.

At least one of the Tibetans protested against the searches being carried out by the police, apparently for money as well as weapons, and a scuffle broke. Shots were fired, grazing three of the refugees and hitting a fourth, Ngangde, in the calf. Five of the group managed to flee during the shooting, but Ngangde and the remaining eight or nine Tibetans who had not fled was taken to the police station in Limi, two days away.

After ten days the group, including Ngangde - named by Nepalese officials as "Dabti Khamba", walked for four days under police escort to Nepalganj, from where Ngangde was flown to Kathmandu. He received no medical attention for his injury until his arrival in Kathmandu on 3rd or 4th September, 18 days after the shooting, by which time his leg had become gangrenous and had to be amputated below the knee.

The Nepalese press reported that a medical team "was rushed to the spot for the treatment of the injured with necessary medicines", according to the official Government paper, the *Rising Nepal* on 24th August.

The report is contradicted by the accounts of the refugees and by the medical evidence.

The official paper said Ngangde had tried "repeatedly to snatch a rifle from the police and attack the security men", but his fellow refugees say they tried only to stop the police shooting at them.

There have been frequent reports of refugees being beaten and robbed by police in Nepal after they have escaped across the border. This is the second reported case of police opening fire on Tibetans in the last 18 months. In June 1993 one Tibetan was killed and seven sustained injuries from shots or beatings when they were discovered by Nepalese police.

Written Statement by Refugees who Witnessed the

Shooting

TIN Doc 4 (WG). Statement prepared for TIN by three nuns who were with the group when the shooting happened.

On 7th day [of the 7th] Tibetan month [August 13th] we departed from Mount Kailash and reached Trulku Gumpa on the 9th. On the tenth evening we reached Trakso [Drakse?] and stayed there. On the 11th [17th August] we met a one-eyed Nepali man; he then went to tell the Trakso police that a group of people were arriving. He came back to us with a gun as we were crossing a high pass; we had stopped to rest and cook tea.

He said to us: "I am a policeman; Where are you going? Who brought you there? Who is your guide?" We answered that we were on pilgrimage, on our way to meet His Holiness and that we had no guide. Two policemen on horses, with guns, arrived at that point. The one-eyed man could speak Nepali as well as Tibetan. Some local people from Limi had also arrived there. The one-eyed man was asking questions and bodily checking each of us, as well as threatening us with his gun. He took our 'gaos' [box for religious amulets, worn around the neck or waist], stepped on them and tried to take some money; but we replied "We don't have any money".

We searched in our bags and gave some clothes to the local people. We hid a little money under some stones [The one-eyed man was doing this not the policemen]. The two policemen said "Now we are going to Trakso". The one-eyed man was riding a horse.

Coming towards Trakso we reached a small lake. The Amdowa asked for his knife and money back: "If you won't send us to India, we will return to China". The two policemen said that they should go to Trakso, not India; pointing their guns at the one who spoke. The Amdowan [a Tibetan from Amdo] caught the arm [or the hand] of the policeman, lifting up the rifle so that the shot went in the air. Nobody was shot but they jostled and the other policeman was ready to shoot.

Another Amdowan also caught the second policeman and the second shot came close to the forehead of one of the group, who got slightly injured; same for Katrak on his shoulder [?]. The

third one went into Ngangde's leg and the fourth one scratched Dawa's leg [or foot].

As Ngangde had fallen in the water, we rushed to pick him up and pulled him out; we tied a belt around his leg. Then the police said: "Try to make or borrow a kind of stretcher to carry the injured one and come to Trakso". The policemen and a group of us, handcuffed, went ahead to Trakso to try to arrange a way to carry the patient. Out of the 14 people, 5 had run away, nine were left. The three nuns stayed with the wounded man, while four went on to Trakso.

On the 12th evening [18th August], eight policemen and some leaders came to Trakso from Limi, all armed with guns. Three were already in Trakso. The four of the group and policemen came back to the place where the shooting took place; we put the patient on a wooden structure and brought him to the Limi police station. This took two nights and one day. No food was given to us.

We reached Limi. As the patient was left without medical treatment, his wound was getting infected. During that period we got food twice a day but it was not worth eating. Then comes a matter of nine days [section of text unclear]. There were two guards watching us in turn. Leaving on the 16th [Aug 22nd] in the evening, with all the policemen, we reached Dramtse on the 21st.

On the 29th [or 28th] [Sept 4th], the whole group was flown to Nepalganj. The injured one went to Kathmandu by air. Eight of us spent one night there and went taken in handcuffs, by bus, to Kathmandu. We spent one night and one day in the [immigration] jail. We were then released and taken to the [exile Tibetan Government's] Reception Centre by some people of the Tibetan government.

Archive note: Tibetans Repatriated from Nepal, 1991-2

TIN, May 5 1994. Edited

In 1991-2 Nepalese officials on the Nepal-Tibet border operated a policy of repatriating aliens who reached Nepal without official papers and permits. People caught without visas, including some who had Chinese passports, were sent to the Immigration office in Kodari and handed over to Chinese officials in Zhangmu (Tibetan: Dram or Drang-mo, Nepalese: Khasa). It is not known if this practice is still continuing.

Figures recently made available by a source in Tibet show that 456 people were handed over to the Chinese over 16 months in this period. At least 272 of these were Tibetans, and at least 53 were Chinese; details about the others are unclear.

These figures do not include those Tibetans and Nepalese who have free rights of transit to and fro across the border within the border area, because they live with 30 km of the border. It is possible that some of the deportees were not refugees and were temporary economic migrants. In that connection, these figures should be compared with figures from Hong Kong, where the British authorities deport hundreds of Chinese

migrants every week who have crossed the border from China.

However, there is no evidence of any attempt by the Nepalese authorities to verify if the aliens, the majority of whom appear to have been Tibetans, were claiming asylum or were at risk of persecution. In fact it seems that the Nepalese knew that these deportees faced repercussions from Chinese police because of their political beliefs: on at least one occasion Nepalese officials are known to have informed the Chinese authorities in writing that the returnees had been found with politically sensitive anti-Chinese documents in their possession, a fact that suggests the Nepali officials returned asylum seekers knowing that they were at risk of persecution.

The written orders which are handed over to the Chinese with the deportees customarily state that the

aliens are being returned "for action and punishment according to the laws and regulations of your country".

The Nepali immigration officers often repatriated Tibetans because they had no practical alternative. Although Nepali regulations at the time said that asylum claimants should be sent for assessment to Kathmandu, the officials at the border were not given any vehicles or funds to enable them to carry out these requirements. There was no telephone within several miles of the border post on the Nepalese side, although a telephone has now been installed at Tatopani, the village just south of Kodari. Since at least 1994 western agencies in Nepal have provided immigration officials with access to vehicles to bring asylum claimants to Kathmandu, where they can be assessed by the UNHCR. It is not known how often these facilities are used.

1991 Month	No. of Deportations	1992 Month	No. of Deportations
-	-	January	69
-	-	February	12
-	-	March	7
-	-	April	10
-	-	May	18
-	-	June	28
July 10-30,	12	July	12
August	22	August	none
September	44	September	26
October	42	October	36
November	64	-	-
December	54	-	-
total (6 mnths): 238		total (10 mnths): 218	
TOTAL (16 mnths):		456	

Tibetans:	272 (84 men, 47 women, 141 unknown)
Chinese:	53 (11 men, 5 women, 37 unknown)
Unidentified:	131 (18 men, 13 women, 100 unknown)

BIRTH CONTROL

County-Level Document Orders Force to be Used in Birth Control

TIN News Report / 19 February 1995

An official Chinese document has been discovered which orders force to be used in implementing China's birth control policy.* The 3 page document, which was obtained by the Tibetan Government in Exile, calls seven times for "contraceptive operations" to be carried out "without delay" or "imperatively" on people who have more children than are permitted.

The document, issued in 1991, insists that fines are no longer sufficient punishment for having an extra child, and that any couple who have had an extra child in the previous nine years must also have a "birth prevention operation". Other birth control regulations which have been seen outside China or Tibet are careful to avoid ordering the use of force in most cases.

The document contradicts the tone of public statements by the Chinese authorities, which describe China's family planning policy as "combining state guidance with people's self-awareness". The Government says even in internal documents that the birth control policy should be particularly relaxed in areas inhabited by non-

Chinese people. "Implementation of planned birth must be based mainly on ideological education," according to laws published in Ganze, a Tibetan prefecture in Sichuan Province, and the Tibet Autonomous Region in 1989 and 1992. But those documents were not grass-roots level regulations, and have always been suspected of being more sophisticated and subtle than the basic implementation regulations, which have never been seen before.

Other birth control regulations seen outside China have called for force to be used in the collection of fines, but have avoided calling explicitly for force to be used in carrying out surgical operations, except in relatively specialised situations such as couples with hereditary illness.

The term "birth prevention operation" or "contraceptive operation" is ambiguous and is not explained in the document. The term could apply either to the insertion of a contraceptive device such as an I.U.D. or to a

sterilisation procedure. It is clear that in this case the term is not being used to refer to abortions, usually described by the Chinese as "the remedy method".

The new document, which carries an official seal and appears to be genuine, comes from Gungho, a county south of Xining, the capital of Qinghai Province, formerly the Tibetan area of Amdo. The area is more usually called Chabcha by Tibetans or Gonghe by Chinese. Most reports of the use of extreme force on Tibetan women so far received come from this area or neighbouring counties.

The Gungho document is a set of county-level regulations which deal with people who have not paid fines or have not accepted punishment levied on them for having extra children during the previous 9 years. Issued in 1991, the Gungho regulations were an amendment to the 1982 law which first implemented "birth planning" in the area.

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共和县人民政府文件

1991 90 号
共政发〔 〕 号



共和县人民政府

批转县计生办《关于我县超生户采取结扎术后
免去部分超生罚款的办法》的通知

各乡【镇】政府、县政府各部门、县境内各农牧场、
驻恰单位：

县政府原则同意县计生办《关于我县超生户采取
结扎术后免去部分超生罚款的办法》，现批转给你们，
望认真学习，贯彻执行。

附：《办法》



一九九一年六月二十四日

抄报：州人民政府。

抄送：州计生委、县委、县人大、县政协、县纪委、
县武装部、县法院、县检察院、县委各部门、
各群众团体。

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TIN Doc 14(WA): Gungho County Birth Control Regulations, 1991

In the document the authorities in Gungho say that implementation of the birth control regulations had met with some difficulties, apparently because local people were reluctant to have "birth prevention operations".

"But because of a wide variety of reasons, there are still households with a large number of members who because of their stubborn adherence to old customs and traditions resist birth prevention operations. This continues to render implementation of the policy difficult."

The Gungho Document accordingly tightens up the existing regulations by imposing retrospective fines on people in the county who have had "extra children" since 1982. What is exceptional about the document is that in every case where a couple have had an extra child the document also orders "birth prevention operations" to be carried out. This applies to any couple who have had an extra child since 1982 as well as any couple where the wife becomes pregnant "out of plan" in the future:

"From 1 January 1991 onwards, birth control policy will be strictly implemented and in the case of those exceeding the limit, birth prevention operation will be carried out within the year."

The purpose of the document appears to be to stop the practice of using fines as an alternative to surgical operations. It orders surgical operations to be carried out on people who have had an extra child at any time since 1982, even if they have already paid the appropriate fine. For these cases

"a birth prevention operation will be carried out before the end of 1991 or, in any case, within the year 1992 and no excuses or pretexts will be entertained as any reason for staying or postponing the operation any further."

The Gungho document is of particular importance because it is the only county-level document on birth control that has been seen or published outside Tibet. Prefectural, provincial and national level regulations are worded in ambiguous ways and are extremely careful to avoid ordering the use of force other than in exceptional circumstances. Each county in China or Tibet can then produce its own implementation procedures, which are a simplification of the higher level laws issued by the prefecture and province.

The Gungho document confirms suspicions that county level implementation laws are much more crude and aggressive than the higher level laws. It is the county level implementation procedures, like the Gungho document, which decide what cadres are actually supposed to do when carrying out Chinese laws; higher level documents are heavily coded and avoid going into practical detail.

Note on Chinese Hierarchy of Laws

In the Chinese system, a national-level law produced by the central authorities lays down guidelines and general principles. By itself the law at that level is too vague to be put into practice. The provincial authorities then

produce provincial-level regulations which are termed "implementation procedures", with more details about how the law is going to be carried out, plus minor adjustments to allow for local variations. Prefectures, the level below the province, then produce their own prefectural implementation regulations; in the "autonomous" areas there is special emphasis on their right to modify the provincial laws to some extent. Below the level of the prefecture comes the county, which then produces another set of implementation regulations to explain to cadres in direct language the practicalities of realising the new law in their area. County-level implementation regulations are rarely seen but are probably the only documents which give an accurate indication of how a law is put into practice.

* NOTE: A partial translation of this document was published by the Tibetan Government in Exile on 17th August 1993, and the document is discussed in the TIN Background Briefing Paper *Survey of Birth Control Policies in Tibet* (30th March, 1994). This is the first full translation to be published outside China or Tibet. It should be considered as an addition to the set of province level and prefecture level documents on birth control published by Tibet Information Network in 1994 (*Documents on Birth Control*, TIN, March, 1994).

Birth Control Regulations, Gungho County: Translation

TIN Doc 14(WA)

Original: 3 pages in Chinese, with a title in Tibetan. Page 1 is the distribution notice and pages 2-3 are the text of the administrative order.

Date written: 25 January 1991

Date distributed in Gungho: 24 June 1991

Stamped with the official seal of the County Government over the date on Page 1.

Issued by: the Gungho County Government (Qinghai Province). Original Document supplied by: Department of Information and International Relations (Tibetan Government in Exile). Part of this was first published by the Department on 17 August 1993.

Note: Gungho is a Chinese name for the town which is called Chabcha by the Tibetans. It is also called "Gonghe" by the Chinese. The county surrounding Chabcha is called by the same name. It is situated in Qinghai Province about 100 km south-west of the provincial capital Xining. The town of Chabcha (Chinese: Gonghe/Gungho) is the administrative seat of Tsolho (Chinese: Hainan) Prefecture, and of Gungho county, as it is called in this document..

Title in Tibetan: *Gung ho zhan* [Chinese: *xian*] *mi dmangs srid gzhung yig cha* [!Document of the Gungho County People's Government"]. Rest of the document is in Chinese.

TIN Doc 14(WA) TEXT

[Page 1: Distribution Order]

[Title:] A Document of the Gungho County People's Government.

[Reference Number:] Gungho People's Government Document No. 90 (1991).

[Issuing Authority:] Gungho County People's Administration.

[Title of Attached Document:] [Measures Regarding Leniency Towards the Imposition of Monetary Fines on those Exceeding the Planned Limit on Births per Couple in Our County and Agreeing to Submit to Birth Prevention Operations].

For the notification of township (or town) [xiang (zhen)] administrations, administrative departments [bu men] of the county administration, agricultural and pastoral areas under the county, and appropriately stationed work units [zhu qia dan wei]:

The Birth Planning Office of the county administration has agreed upon and finalised the "Measures Regarding Leniency Towards the Imposition of Monetary Fines on those Exceeding the Planned Limit on Births Per Couple in our County and Agreeing to Submit to Birth Prevention Operations". The county government now notifies you of this in detail and requires you all to carry this out effectively with effort and perseverance both by education [study] and implementation.

[Date of Distribution Order:] 24 June 1991

Note about Distribution Procedure:

A copy to be submitted to the People's Government of the Prefecture with a copy each to be sent to: the Prefectural Birth Planning Office, the Party Committee of the County, the Assembly of County People's Deputies, the County People's Political Consultative Committee, the Commission for Inspecting Discipline, the County Armed Police Chief, the County Vigilance Unit, the County Courts, the County Procuracy Bureaux, each of the offices under the county and the people's associations.

[Pages 2-3: Attached Administrative Order]

A report on "Measures Regarding Leniency Towards the Imposition of Monetary Fines on those Exceeding the Planned Limits on Births per Couple in our County and Agreeing to Submit to Birth Prevention Operations" in our county.

A submission for the attention of the County People's Government:

Since birth planning was implemented in our county in 1982, we achieved appreciable results in implementing the "Regulations for Implementation of Birth Planning in Qinghai Province" and the "Supplementary Regulations for the Implementation of Birth Planning in Gungho County." But because of a wide variety of reasons, there are still households with a large number of members who because of their stubborn adherence to old customs and traditions resist birth prevention operations. This continues to render implementation of the policy difficult. In order to achieve all-round results in the implementation of the birth planning policy we have finalised these "Measures Regarding Leniency Towards the Imposition of Monetary Fines on those Exceeding the Planned Limits on Births per Couple in our County and Agreeing to Submit to Birth Prevention Operations". For this purpose and in order to implement the resolutions of the first meeting of the State Family Planning Commission held in 1991 we submit the following report on the measures [to be taken]:

1. Regarding those who from 6 December 1982 to 31 December 1988 neither volunteered to undergo a

birth prevention operation nor agreed to pay the fine, a birth prevention operation will be carried out imperatively and, on the basis of the number of extra children, monetary fines collected before the end of the year 1991. (The fines will be 300 yuan for one extra child, 600 yuan for two extra children and so on.)

2. Regarding those who had, on whatsoever criteria, one or two extra children in the period from 1 January 1989 to 31 December 1990 and who failed to undergo a birth prevention operation or to pay the monetary fines, the operation will be carried out imperatively before the end of the year 1991. A certificate of confirmation providing evidence of the operation must be shown. This will be followed by leniency to the extent of 600 yuan for those having one extra child and 400 yuan for those having two extra children, out of a total fine of 900 yuan. In the case of those who had already agreed to have birth prevention operations but submit to it only in the following year, leniency will be shown to the extent of 500 yuan for those having one extra child and 300 yuan for those having two extra children out of a total fine of 900 and the birth prevention operation will be carried out unconditionally.

Regarding those having three or four extra children who have neither submitted to a birth prevention operation nor paid the monetary fine, the birth prevention operation must be carried out imperatively and, in addition, the entire amount of the 900 yuan fine will be collected without any concession.

3. Regarding those who from 6 December 1982 to 31 December 1990, on whatever basis or criteria, had violated the birth limit per couple and who had already agreed to pay the fine but had not yet had the birth prevention operation, birth prevention operation will be carried out [p3] before the end of 1991 or, in any case, within the year 1992 and no excuses or pretexts will be entertained as any reason for delaying or postponing the operation any further.

4. From 1 January 1991 onwards, birth planning policy will be strictly implemented and in the case of those exceeding the limit, a birth prevention operation will be carried out within the year and the fine of the whole amount of 900 yuan will be collected.

5. In the case of staff and technicians, Document No. 126 of 1990 of the county people's administration ("A Supplementary Regulation for the Enforcement of Birth Planning Policy in Order to Prevent Population Increase in our County") will be fully implemented. Whoever violates the birth planning policy by having extra children will be operated upon within the year to prevent further child birth and no concessions will be granted.

6. From 1 January 1991 onwards, countryside and pastoral areas and townships will be brought under the birth planning policy. As per the provisions of chapter 4 of "Regulations for the Implementation of Birth Planning in Qinghai Province", each couple will

be entitled to have 2-3 children. However, if a birth takes place within a period of less than four years from the time of having the previous child, a fine of 300 yuan will be imposed (even if the birth is otherwise within the limited number).

7. The above measures will be implemented from the time of their announcement.

If no reasons have been seen to find fault with the above report on measures [to be taken], we request the county administration to call on all concerned offices under and within it to implement it fully.

[Issuing Authority:] The Birth Planning Office of Gungho County.

[Date of Order:] 25 January 1991

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

China Snubbed at UN

TIN News Update / 8 March, 1995

Beijing was narrowly defeated in a vote at the UN tonight when it attempted to stop the UN discussing the human rights situation in China. The defeat is believed to be the first time a Chinese proposal has been rejected by the UN member states.

The defeat came when China, in a procedural manoeuvre, demanded that there should be no discussion of a resolution criticising the human rights situation in China. But the UN, meeting in Geneva for the annual session of its Commission on Human Rights, ruled that the discussion should go ahead on Wednesday morning as scheduled.

Since the Tiananmen massacres of 1989 China has always succeeded in persuading the UN Commission not to discuss any resolution criticising China's human rights record, by arguing on technical grounds that any resolution - always proposed by western countries - was politically motivated.

Although the resolution tomorrow criticising China is not expected to pass, the defeat this evening of China's fourth attempt to prevent discussion will be a major embarrassment for Beijing. China won an identical proposal in 1992 with a majority of 12 votes, indicating a major drift away from support for Beijing in the UN over the last three years.

The vote this evening was tied with 22 votes for China and 22 against, with 9 abstentions, meaning that the procedural proposal had failed. The votes against China came from the western and developed countries, including Japan and Russia, but the most significant votes against the Chinese proposal were those of smaller countries outside the western block - the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guinea-Bissau.

The Philippines, whose claim to an island in the South China sea has recently been aggressively contested by China, also voted against Beijing. Several African and Asian countries, including Benin, Malawi and Korea, abstained. Peru voted unexpectedly with China, the only South American country to do so.

Permanent Security Council Members "No Longer Immune"

China lost sympathy for its repeated claim to be a victim of a political conspiracy because this year it was not the only permanent member of the Security Council to be criticised for its human rights record. Russia was criticised for its activity in Chechnya and earlier the same evening China had strongly supported an abortive resolution condemning racism in the USA. Neither Russia nor the US had sought to block discussion of resolutions critical of them, Sir Henry Steele, the UK Ambassador, reminded the 53 members of the Commission.

"Permanent members of the Security Council are no longer immune from criticism," commented a Tibetan exile representative, Gyaltsen Gyaltag, who attended the session. "This is a first step forward in discussing the human rights situation in China on a substantive level," he said.

The resolution which will now be discussed on Wednesday morning recognises China's success in improving economic conditions and reducing poverty, but "expresses concern at continuing reports of violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in China".

It mentions in particular restrictions on "the rights of citizens to freedom of assembly, association, expression and religion, as well as to due legal process and a fair trial".

The resolution, co-sponsored by the western block countries plus Japan and the Dominican Republic, also expresses concern at the "inadequate protection of the distinct cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious identity of Tibetans and others".

"This is a small step for the UN Human Rights Commission, but it's a giant leap for the human rights movement in China," said Xiao Qiang, director of Human Rights in China, a US-based pressure group, commenting on the vote this evening.

China was censured for its human rights record in Tibet in a UN resolution in 1991, but the resolution came from a minor body known as the Sub-Commission on

Human Rights, which is composed of independent experts not governments.

Russia Saves China from UN Defeat
TIN News Update / 8 March, 1995 1004 gmt

China narrowly survived a UN attempt on Wednesday morning to criticise its human rights record, but only because of last minute Russian intervention.

China won the debate at the UN Commission on Human Rights by one vote, with 20 countries voting to criticise China's human rights record and 21 - including Russia - opposing the criticism. There were 12 abstentions.

On Tuesday night Russia had voted against China in a procedural motion by Beijing to block all discussion of the human rights situation in China.

The most remarkable aspect of the vote at the Geneva meeting was not the Russian rescue effort but the fact that two African countries shifted against China overnight. Egypt and Ethiopia had both voted with China on the procedural motion calling for a block on discussion, but voted against China on the substantive resolution on China's human rights.

China's speech to the UN this morning called on all developing countries to vote against the resolution, a call that was rejected by Egypt and Ethiopia. "The resolution is a product of political confrontation practiced by the west with ulterior motives", China's representative told the UN.

**Voting on China's proposal to take "no action",
midnight 7/8th March**

In favour of China's "no action" proposal: 22

Algeria; Angola; Bangla Desh; Bhutan; Cameroon; China; Cote d'Ivoire; Cuba; Egypt; Ethiopia; Gabon; India; Indonesia; Malaysia; Mauritania; Nepal; Pakistan; Peru; Sri Lanka; Sudan; Togo; Zimbabwe.

Against China's "no action" proposal: 22

Australia; Austria; Bulgaria; Canada; Dominican Republic; Ecuador; El Salvador; Finland; France; Germany; Guinea-Bissau; Hungary; Italy; Japan; Netherlands; Nicaragua; Philippines; Poland; Rumania; Russia; UK; USA.

Abstentions: 9

Benin; Brazil; Chile; Columbia; Malawi; Mauritius; Mexico; Korea; Venezuela.

Voting on "The Human Rights Situation in China", 8th March

In the substantive resolution on the morning of 8th March Russia changed its vote to oppose the resolution, while Philippines, Egypt and Ethiopia changed their votes on the "no action" resolution to abstentions on the human rights resolution.

Chinese Press on International Events

Summaries of selected articles from the Chinese press on international developments concerning Tibet. The date of publication is given first, followed at the end of each summary

by the date the article appeared in translation in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts

16 September: Zhou Xinghai, deputy director of the State Administration for the Inspection of Import and Export Commodities arrived in Lhasa to discuss ways of tailoring commodity inspection to the pace of development in Tibet, Lhasa TV reported. (17 October)

24 September: Nepal and Tibet signed an agreement in Kathmandu on transit facilities to enable Tibet to promote its trade with India, IRNA of Tehran reported on 25 September, quoting United News of India. Leading the Tibet delegation was Tibet government vice-chairman Thondrup. The agreement also provided for the promotion of Nepal's trade with Tibet, to help Nepal reduce its huge trade imbalances with the TAR, currently standing at \$23m. (1 October)

23 September: Gangba [Gamba] county in [Shigatse Prefecture] the TAR has signed a contract with a US company to develop mineral water on the northern slope of the Himalayas, Xinhua reported. Located 5,128 metres above sea level, the spring discharges 820 tons of water a day. The China-America Trade Co. Ltd has invested \$82,000 out of the total \$200,000, to increase daily capacity from 10 tons to 50 tons. (W 5 October)

9 October: A seven-day trade fair, sponsored jointly by the TAR and Nepal, was held in Nepal, Xinhua reported. It attracted 38 enterprises from Tibet and displayed more than 1,000 types of commodity. Some contracts, to the value of 85 million yuan, were signed (\$10m), plus six co-operative projects. (11 October)

30 October: A Nepalese delegation and officials of the Lhasa branch of the Bank of China have signed an agreement on trade and letters of credit, Radio Nepal reported. The agreement will run from 1 January 1995. (7 November)

27 September: The Tibet Support Group in the Estonian parliament (the Riigikogu) has warned China against destroying Tibetan culture, Baltic News Service reported. The TSG said distortions of any culture by force would amount to a crime against world culture, and voiced support to the people of Tibet in their struggle for freedom and for the unique culture of Tibet. The TSG in the parliament number 17 out of 101 deputies. The chairman of the group is Lauri Vahtre. (1 October)

1 October: Jope Penjor Tsering [Chope Paljor Tsering], a special representative of the Dalai Lama, was visiting Estonia, Tallinn radio reported. Three years ago when the Dalai Lama toured the Baltic states, Estonia was the only one not to receive him at top level. Andres Herkel, a Riigikogu [parliament] member recalled [BBC comments: not known as MP, but adviser to parliamentary Fatherland faction]. Lauri Vahtre, chairman of the parliamentary support group for Tibet, noted there was now a pressure group in parliament to bring Tibet to the world's notice. The group presented a statement supporting the people of Tibet in their struggle for freedom and the unique culture of Tibet. (11 October)

5 October: A Sino-US team recently found the remains of another two US airmen who died in a crash 50 years ago on a glacier in the Himalayas, Xinhua reported. This followed the discovery of the remains of three US crew members and the wreckage of a US transport plane in the same place (near Yi'ong township, Bomi country, Nyingchi [Nyingtri] prefecture) in mid-September last year. China handed these over to American representatives in December last year. (7 October)

7 October: Bolivian vice-president Victor Hugo Cardenas Conde concluded a three-day trip to the TAR today, leaving for Chengdu, Sichuan, Xinhua reported. During his stay he visited the Potala, local factories and hospitals in Lhasa. Both sides agreed that there is potential for co-operation in agriculture, folk culture and arts. Puqung [Buchung], vice-chairman of the standing committee of the TAR people's congress, met the visitors. (11 October)

25 October: Crown Prince Dipendra of Nepal arrived in Lhasa with a delegation for a week-long visit to China, according to Xinhua. Gyaincain Norbu, TAR government chairman, briefed him on social and economic aspects of Tibet. (1 November)

7 November: Australian Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans said that human rights had been one of the subjects discussed during a meeting in Canberra with Qiao Shi, visiting chairman of China's National People's Congress, Radio Australia reported. He said he did not specifically raise the issue of Tibet in his talks but noted Australia had long been concerned about repression of religious freedom, cultural identity and freedom of expression in Tibet. Earlier, about 12 supporters of Tibetan independence were ordered out of the Senate after standing up in the Chamber and unfurling flags while Qiao sat in the visitors' gallery. Members of the Australia-Tibet Council claimed that Qiao was the architect of repression in the Himalayan region. (8 November)

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